

**A STUDY OF PRIMARY TEACHERS' VIEWS ABOUT THEIR WORK IN THE
CONTEXT OF THE FCUBE REFORM IN A DISADVANTAGED DISTRICT OF
GHANA.**

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ABSTRACT

Despite almost 50 years of independence and millions of dollars of aid funds designed to improve education, the situation in the schools in Ghana today has major problems. Over these 50 years there has been a succession of reform efforts aimed at developing and improving the education system in the country. However, it appears that these reforms have not succeeded in achieving hoped for results, particularly in the rural and disadvantaged schools in the country. This thesis describes a study of primary teachers' views of their professional situation and, in particular, their views of a major reform effort, the Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) reforms, initiated in 1996 with the goal of improving the quality of teaching and learning in schools.

The research consisted of two small-scale and exploratory studies, which combined quantitative and qualitative methods. The first study was a questionnaire study of a sample of primary teachers in a predominantly rural district of Ghana, Navrongo district. The second study comprised two in-depth interview studies. These studies were complemented by the use of documentary analysis and field notes.

From the data it was possible to see some differences between teachers (according to gender and age, and therefore route of teacher training) in their experiences and views of teaching. All the teachers appeared to find teaching stressful and, already over worked, they perceived additional demands created by the reforms. Although much of the literature suggests that teachers themselves should be central players in the implementation of school reform, about one third of this sample had not even heard of the FCUBE reform and of those that had there was a variety of understanding. All teachers suffered from the poor conditions and lack of infrastructure in the schools in Ghana. The data suggest that teachers' experiences and understanding of policy change in the Ghanaian context are influenced by the context in which they work, and that teachers are more likely to work better where

there is an approach that supports them in their continued professional development, and good systems of communication and support.

The major strength of the study is that the district clearly has many unique features as an example of a disadvantaged district in Ghana, and that the local in-depth study focused on the perspectives of primary teachers from these disadvantaged schools at a time of a major educational reform in an attempt to understand their professional situation and to learn from them. The study therefore portrays 'what it is like' to be a teacher working in a disadvantaged district like Navrongo, explaining the reality on the ground and providing thick descriptions of teachers' lived experiences of, thoughts about and feeling for, their work situation at this time of policy change.

The exploratory case study has, therefore, helped to develop an in-depth situated knowledge that is both unique to the particular context (i.e. primary teachers in a disadvantaged district in Ghana) but nevertheless enables some lessons to be learned which may be applied across the district as a whole and indeed the wider education system both within Ghana and in other countries in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Recommendations are made based on the findings and it is suggested that there is a clear need both for policy to be adapted to the local context and for local stakeholders such as teachers to be involved in the development and implementation of that policy.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ADP	Accelerated Development Plan
BECE	Basic Education Certificate Examination
BESIP	Basic Education Sector Improvement Project
CRDD	Curriculum Research and Development Division
CRIQPEG	Centre for Research into Improving the Quality of Primary Education in Ghana
CRT	Criterion Referenced Test
CSA	Community School Alliance
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DDE	District Director of Education
DEO	District Education Office
DFID	Department for International Development
DTST	District Teacher Support Team
ERP	Economic Recovery Programme
FCUBE	Free & Compulsory Universal Basic Education
GES	Ghana Education Service
GNAT	Ghana national Association of Teachers
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ILP	Improving Learning through Partnership
ILS	Integrated Learning Sequence
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISDP	Integrated School Development Process
INSET	In-service Education & Training

ITT	Initial Teacher Training
ITTC	Initial Teacher Training College
JICA	Japanese International Cooperation Agency
JSS	Junior Secondary School
LLS	Linkages in Learning Sequence
MOE	Ministry of Education
NERP	New Educational Reform Programme
NSCE	The New Structure & Content of Education
ODA	Overseas Development Agency
OPEC	Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries
PNDC	Provisional National Defence Council
PREP	Primary Education Programme
PSDP	Primary School Development Project
PTA	Parent Teacher Association
QUIPS	Quality Improvement In Primary Schools
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency
SMC	School Management Committee
SSS	Senior Secondary School
STM	Science Technology and Mathematics
TRC	Teachers' Resource Centre
TTC	Teacher Training College
UCC	University of Cape Coast
UEW	University of Education, Winneba

UNICEF	United Nations Children Educational Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
TED	Teacher Education Division
TRC	Teachers' Resource Centre
TTCs	Teacher Training Colleges
WSD	Whole School Development
WSDP	Whole School Development Process

CHAPTER ONE: IMPROVING TEACHING AND LEARNING IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS: WHERE GHANA STANDS.

1.0: INTRODUCTION: Despite almost 50 years of independence and millions of dollars of aid funds designed to improve education, the situation in the schools in Ghana today has major problems. Over these 50 years there has been a succession of reform efforts aimed at developing and improving the education system in Ghana. However, it appears that these reforms have not succeeded in achieving hoped for results, particularly in the rural schools and disadvantaged areas of the country. This thesis describes a study of teachers' views of their professional situation and, in particular, their views of the major reform effort, the Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) reforms. FCUBE was initiated in 1996 as a major reform initiative with the goal of improving the quality of teaching and learning, whilst increasing access to basic education, and ensuring management of quality assurance alongside efficient cost and financing of education (MOE, 1996).

The FCUBE reform comprises an extensive programme with a number of different objectives and aspects. In this thesis, my interest is in the first objective of the FCUBE reform: to improve the Quality of Teaching and Learning, and my goal is to focus on teachers as key players in this objective. Educational reforms by successive governments in Ghana appear to have had limited impact; this may be due in part to the fact that although teachers are critical players in improving teaching and learning in any reform process, they have not been involved either in the design of the reforms, or in their implementation. In this study, I therefore wish to explore this view and to see how primary teachers at the present time view their professional situation and in particular how they view the FCUBE reform in order to understand some of the difficulties facing educational reformers in Ghana.

Ghana's population in 2003 was estimated at 22 million (Graphic News, 8 September 2003) with a Gross National Product (GNP) of \$390 million. Primary

school enrolment stood at 2,290,000 with a teacher population of 63,963 and a pupil-teacher ratio of 36:1 in 1998 (MOE, 1998). There are 38 primary teacher education colleges across the ten regions of the country, with an annual output of about 6000 newly trained teachers (Lewin, 2002a). Of the total teacher population, untrained teachers form about 13.5%, whilst the teacher attrition rate in the country is estimated at 5% per annum (Lewin, 2002a). Teachers' salaries in Ghana have declined in relative terms over the past 10 years resulting in reduced status; this is often cited as a major cause of their low morale (Anamuah-Mensah, 2003; Avotri et al, 1999; Hedges, 2000; Konadu, 1994; Nsowah, 2003; Pryor & Stuart, 1996). Thus, although teachers must be considered to be key players in the challenge of improving the school system in Ghana, the teacher workforce is not in a strong position.

1.1:RATIONALE FOR THE FREE COMPULSORY UNIVERSAL BASIC EDUCATION REFORM (FCUBE): The Ghana Government's explicit, and publicly stated intention in introducing the FCUBE Reforms in 1996 was to improve the quality of education in basic schools in the country through a focus on improved teaching and learning. This resulted in replacing the existing curriculum package that had become institutionalised since independence in 1957 with a revised curriculum produced by the Ministry of Education (MOE). In the knowledge area, more emphasis was to be placed on understanding underlying concepts and ideas, and less on the acquisition of factual information. In the skill development area, a broader range of skills was to be developed in pupils, for example, interpreting and inferring from observation. According to official documents, improving the quality of education in basic schools was to be achieved through the development in teachers of a range of generic skills like observation, questioning, explaining, instructing, providing both evaluation and critical feedback, managing space and resources and handling behaviour of pupils (MOE, 1996; MOE/DFID, 1998; Action Aid, 2000; Government of Ghana, 1995). Teachers therefore needed enormously enhanced skills and understanding in order

to make their interactions with pupils more meaningful and of the highest quality possible.

The revised curriculum not only demanded changes in pedagogy that few teachers had been prepared for, but considerably increased the amount of subject content material to be covered. However, following the introduction of the reform, teachers have not been able to count on systematic administrative or professional support to assist them in coping with the changes. This is substantiated by the Vice Chancellor of the University of Cape Coast, charged with training and certification of teachers in Ghana who said in 1999 that *'the lack of a systematic and continuous in-service training for teachers is a major problem that has to be addressed in teacher education'* and *'there are 90,000 Certificate 'A' teachers who need to improve their skills to be able to face the professional challenges in the next century'* (GRi Educational News, 5 December 1999). Thus teachers' professional development should be an important part of the reform.

The Ministry of Education under different governments, spanning from 1951 to the present day, has made attempts to improve the curriculum for both pre-service and in-service training of teachers. However, even though revised substantially, the teacher education programme appears to have failed to reflect the changes and revisions introduced in the curriculum of basic schools, since it does not focus sufficiently on methods of teaching, and has been criticised for over-emphasising the academic knowledge of trainees (Awuku, 2000; Nsowah, 2003). In addition it appears that there is a lack of co-ordination between basic schools and the colleges of education. According to the Vice Chancellor, *'even though the acquisition of material resources is important, investing in teachers' professional development is more important because it is the teachers who will process these material resources in order to achieve the ultimate goals of the education system'* (GRi Educational News, 5 December 1999).

The Criterion Referenced Test (CRT) that surveys a nation wide pupil sample, and which is periodically administered either by the MOE or jointly with some donor agencies, has revealed general stagnation in standards over the past decade. The score gaps between children in rural public schools and their counterparts in the urban areas continue to widen (MOE, 1993; USAID/MOE, 1996). Learning achievement, based on results of criterion-referenced tests at the end of Primary 6 (P6), indicate that only 9.6 percent of public school students in the academic year 1999-2000 achieved mastery in English, and 4.4 percent in mathematics. Analyses of subtest findings (e.g., listening comprehension versus grammatical structure), of regional differences such as the significant improvement in performance in the Ashanti and Northern regions (compared to 1997 results), and of performance of type of schools (e.g., public, private, partnership schools) provide important additional information about the status of basic education in Ghana (MOE/CRDD, 2001). Dropout rates are on the ascendancy and pupils' achievement shows little or no improvement. Test scores have been declining for more than a decade, with media attention devoted to 'illiterate' basic education graduates.

Studies by the Teacher Education Division of the Ministry of Education in 1993 (MOE, 1993), showed that many children are 'virtually illiterate' after five or six years of primary school attendance, and that the qualitative aspects of what they learn and its usefulness remain a serious problem. Similarly research by USAID/MOE (1996) and Avotri et al (1999) shows that a significant number of Ghanaian children after 5 years of schooling are considered to be functionally both illiterate and innumerate. Many teachers appear to be uncertain as they seek to delineate their duties and reach agreements on educational issues and some are wholly untouched by the reforms.

An evaluation in 1999 (Fobih et al, 1999) of the World Bank-supported Primary School Development Project (PSDP), an intervention under the FCUBE programme indicated that teachers were not meeting professional expectations. The study concluded that the management and utilisation of instructional time was

a fundamental problem that undermined the quality of education in public schools. It also revealed that high teacher absenteeism, frequent loss of instructional time, poor instructional quality, poor management, and inadequate textbooks were major problems of the education system. According to Avotri et al (1999), despite increased resource inputs and enrolment, very limited success has been achieved at the basic education level and the school system as a whole.

In spite of the Government's longstanding commitment to improve basic education, conditions in most rural basic schools are still appalling. This is attested to by Karikari-Ababio (2003), a strategic planner at the Ghana Education Service head quarters, who intimated that even though modest achievements have been made '*3 per cent of public schools are still held under trees*' and that '*there are also primary schools with about 40 pupils still using one English text book in the class*'. In addition, the Vice Chancellor of the University of Development Studies in his address to the Kassena-Nankana Youth Association in the district where this research has been conducted, bemoaned the downward trend of education in Navrongo district describing it as '*disheartening*'. He went on to say '*the glorious days of what was referred to as the "Cape Coast of the North" in terms of quality education had been reduced to nothing*' (Kaburise, 2003). Adding his voice, Nsowah (2003), a Deputy Director General in-charge of Quality Improvement in schools at the GES head quarters emphasised '*the need to upgrade the knowledge and skills of teachers for effective teaching and learning*' whilst conceding that '*low morale among teachers due to poor remuneration was negatively affecting the implementation of the FCUBE programme.*'

What is most alarming in all the observations made by the various educationists is that after a sustained period of valiant reform effort – and no small investment of resources – over the past decades, there is still so little to show for the MOE's labour and money. For many observers (donors, non-governmental organizations, educators, politicians, etc), the lack of success of the reforms appeared to stem from the poor performances and responses of teachers in public schools. In light

of this, the FCUBE reform proposals addressing curriculum, resources, and teacher training (i.e. pre and in-service) of the current educational system are still under discussion in education policy circles, not least in many district education offices nation wide. However, the front-line workers - the teachers - appear to have been ignored. It is my view that without due consideration for the realities that teachers face as they strive to implement the reform agenda, there is little reason to suppose that new reform proposals will fare any better than the current ones.

1.2: PREVIOUS LITERATURE ON EDUCATIONAL REFORM: Literature on educational reforms suggests that the failure of many curricular innovations to bring about expected changes has been attributed to innovators' neglect of teachers' perceptions (e.g. Nisbet, 1973; Sutherland, 1981). Fullan (1991b:34) has argued that the reasons for the failure of most educational reforms go far beyond the identification of specific technical problems. He supports the argument of Wise (1977) that policy-makers are frequently 'hyper-rational', pointing out that: *'innovators need to be open to the realities of others: sometimes because the ideas of others will lead to alterations for the better in the direction of change, and sometimes the others' realities will expose the problems of implementation that must be addressed and at the very least will indicate where one should start'* (p.34).

Although most teacher-training programmes attempt to influence the knowledge, skills and attitudes of teachers, research has shown that not all are equally effective in doing so (Dove, 1986). Thus, efforts taken within the last decades to reform several educational systems in both developed and developing countries have proved to be of limited success (Baah-Wiredu, 2003; Karikari-Ababio, 2003; Nsowah, 2003; Psacharopoulos, 1989).

The destiny of any attempts to improve teacher quality lies ultimately in the opportunities and support afforded to all teachers to enhance their professional

development, though in the case of developing countries, issues of teachers' salaries, living conditions, status and autonomy are probably equally important. According to Thomas (1990:7), teacher development is not only about the development of new skills and knowledge; *'it is also about the readiness of teachers to reflect on their own practice and be prepared to change their attitudes and behaviour in the light of reflection'* (1990, p.7).

Efforts to examine educational change in its different phases present the teacher as a central change agent and a crucial factor in the introduction of innovative practices. However, in nearly all educational change efforts in developing countries, teachers are neglected in the design, implementation and evaluation processes in educational change and reform efforts. The outcomes of the 45th Session of the International Conference on Education in 1996 emphasized the teacher as a key agent of innovation and change, and concluded that the teacher's role must be strengthened in order to achieve successful change processes. The report of the conference emphasised three key points as follows:

- *today more than ever before, educational changes must take place primarily in the school and in the classroom. This means acceptance of the role of teachers as the key players in the change process;*
- *recognition of the need to design complete policies for teachers, which will replace piecemeal approaches based on the idea that it is possible to change the situation by tackling one aspect of the problem at a time;*
- *moving away from the idea of teachers as isolated individuals, and to start considering them as professionals who will work together within an institution and as members of a team* (Detesco, 1996:9).

The progress of the FCUBE reform should therefore be conceptualised not only in terms of teachers' abilities to implement the reform but also with reference to

their views of the reform, and of their situation. In this thesis I will explore the views of primary school teachers in Navrongo district on their professional situation and in particular their views of the Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) reforms introduced in 1996.

1.3: THE STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM.

Primary teachers in Ghana are currently experiencing a period of rapid change during which many aspects of their previously established beliefs and practices are being called into question. In public basic schools in Ghana today *'Policy makers have mostly told teachers what to do and have done little to generate debate and discussion about revising classroom teaching'* (Cohen & Barnes, 1993:242). The pace and extent of the educational reforms in Ghana, with multiple forms of innovations impacting on primary schools, are setting entirely new agendas for teachers. In contrast to the traditional focus of teaching, teachers are currently asked to develop curricula and create learning opportunities that foster pupils' independent learning, conceptual understanding, critical thinking and strong analytic skills in a variety of disciplines (MOE: 1974; 1987; & 1996). This is a completely different approach to teaching from that for which they were prepared.

These reforms are grounded in concepts about subject matter and pedagogy that challenge the ideas that most Ghanaian teachers have. They imply a great deal of learning by teachers if these concepts are to be brought to life in schools and in everyday classroom practice. The Government's strategy of devolving decision-making to schools and district level means that national efforts to reform teaching and learning are all the more dependent on the capacity of teachers and facilitators in the district. The capacity of teachers to respond to the reforms is not equally distributed across the system, and these inequalities result in very different enactments of the reforms in different settings nation wide. It has therefore become obvious that teachers should act as an important factor in helping improve

educational practices and specifically in implementing the educational change and innovation.

Whilst the Ministry of Education provides formal in-service education in Ghana, this is only for a limited number of teachers. Some of the in-service programmes appear to lack the realities of the practical situations prevalent in basic public schools. Teachers tend not to be involved in the planning, evaluation and follow-up of in-service education programmes.

It has been apparent during the period of this study (March 2000-February 2003) that teachers in Ghana have been on the receiving end of increasingly unfavourable press from parents and the media. They are often blamed, either directly or by implication, for being the main source of the problem of low performance of pupils in national examinations. Public schools are continually criticised for their poor performance. Standards are deemed to be falling, illiteracy is rising, and teachers are said to be less than competent in their daily dealings with pupils. In other words, the Ministry of Education, parents and the public have treated teachers with little respect. Commentators such as the Vice Chancellor of University of Cape Coast are raising questions as to whether teachers have been fairly criticised, given their lack of professional preparation for the new pedagogy following on the policies introduced by successive governments.

Despite all the initiatives, there is relatively little research available in Ghana to help analyse teachers' views of their situation and in particular how they view the FCUBE reform. The present study is an attempt to explore how primary teachers in Navrongo district responded to FCUBE reform in terms of their own understanding and involvement in the process of improving teaching and learning in schools. The study also explores how the FCUBE reforms impact on their practices in relation to their professional development needs. The research is based on an assumption that the teacher is a key factor for the successful implementation of the FCUBE reform.

1.4: AIM OF THE RESEARCH: The aim of this small-scale and exploratory study is to explore how primary teachers in a district in Ghana perceive their professional situation and in particular their experiences of the support provided for the implementation of the FCUBE reform objective of improving teaching and learning.

1.5: RESEARCH QUESTIONS.

The literature on how teachers react to change is nearly all based on studies in developed countries. Teachers in countries such as Ghana are starting out from a very different context. My main research question is:

What are the views of primary teachers in disadvantaged schools in a district in Ghana on their professional situation, and how do they understand and view the FCUBE reform?

This has been broken down to the following sub-questions:

Q 1: What are the conditions of teaching in poorly resourced and disadvantaged schools in Navrongo district and how are these viewed by primary teachers?

Q2: What are the current understandings of primary teachers in Navrongo district regarding the FCUBE reform?

Q3: How have primary teachers in Navrongo district been supported in their situation following the reform and what are their views of this support?

Q4: How could primary teachers in Navrongo district be encouraged to become more involved in implementing the FCUBE reforms?

The main research question in itself is difficult to address, particularly in the Ghanaian context. Nevertheless, I have tried to answer the research questions by

addressing teachers' views of their work in the specific context of the FCUBE reform. I am interested in the views of teachers in the implementation of the FCUBE reform, and particularly interested in the importance of the cultural context in order to begin to explore ways in which primary teachers in the Ghanaian context might react differently to those in developed countries.

Answers to these questions may, first of all, contribute to a better understanding of teachers' (professional) needs and how these could be better supported. In the long run, studies like this may also lead to insight into teacher perceptions that may hinder or promote innovations, particularly if factors can be identified that influence these perceptions. In order to address the research questions, I carried out a small questionnaire study followed by in-depth interviews in order to explore the issues related to the teachers' understanding and involvement in the reform programme. This is therefore a small-scale and exploratory study which aims to identify aspects of teachers' views which contribute to their understanding of the FCUBE reform and which may inform future policy makers.

1.6:RESEARCH OUTCOMES: This research seeks to inform educational policy debates in Ghana by looking at the FCUBE reform. I hope to provide policy makers, curriculum planners and educational administrators with specific results in respect of the innovation in Navrongo district, in order to help them to evaluate the consequences of the various reform intervention programmes and policies. The research may also provide insights into basic processes of individual and organizational functioning in different contextual arenas and enlightenment, new perspectives, ideas, and conceptualisations of problems and new priorities that will help to sustain meaningful changes in the education system in the district.

The experiences of the teachers in this research may provide some insight into some of the professional development processes taking place in the education system in Ghana as changes are introduced. By considering teachers' perspectives within the broader context of the Ghanaian education system, it becomes possible

to see the specific experiences cited here as illustrative examples of a more general picture. It may therefore provide administrators and curriculum planners with the opportunity to re-examine their own practices, design better innovative plans, and to consider teachers in a more practical sense as major agents who help to put educational visions into more concrete, practical and desirable outcomes if the teachers' needs are met.

Findings will be made available to the Curriculum and Research Development Division (CRDD) of the Ghana Education Service (GES); it is hoped that this will enable the Division to continue to revise and create new material to improve upon the reform package.

The research findings may also provide the possibility of gaining greater understanding of the factors constraining and promoting teachers' work in times of educational change or innovation. In-service teacher trainers who try to put theory into practice by communicating the rationale of innovative programmes to teachers will be able to build their programme content on teachers' needs based on teachers' own ideas. Teaching experiences and demonstration lessons during in-service programmes by facilitators could therefore be focused on existing situations in classrooms and reflect, as much as possible, on teachers' needs.

The spill-over effects would indirectly affect and benefit both pupils and parents since it is hoped that teachers' involvement in the change process would make them aware of the role they have to play and to act in a more positive way in the implementation process. Researching into this area therefore offers a way of bringing educational research findings into professional discourse, which in turn can influence the practice of teaching and the formation of educational policy.

1.7: THE STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS: The thesis is divided into three parts: (i) the context, literature review and methodology (chapters 2, 3, & 4); (ii) the analysis of the questionnaires and the interviews (chapters 5 & 6); and (iii), a

discussion of the implications of the findings and a concluding chapter (chapters 7 & 8).

Chapter two draws a thread through time looking at the nature of changes in the educational system in Ghana and the implications of these for teachers. Chapter three reviews literature on the concept of innovation and change relevant to the study; this includes the teachers' role in educational innovation and change. Chapter four presents the methods employed in the study and considers general issues pertaining to the research procedures adopted.

The results of the survey questionnaires are presented in chapter five with a preliminary reflection on the relationship of the findings to the aims and objectives of the study. Chapter six presents the analysis of the interviews conducted with teachers in Navrongo district. Extracts from respondents are used, where appropriate, to help illustrate the feelings of teachers in relation to their experiences of the reform programme.

Chapter seven is a discussion of the findings of both the questionnaires and interviews in an attempt to unpack the educational issues such as organizational and personal factors that influence policy and teachers' practices as evidenced by the empirical data in the study, with emphasis on how applicable theory is to practice. The concluding chapter, chapter eight, presents suggestions for the successful involvement of teachers by giving them a voice in times of desired change and innovative programmes in basic education in the district. Policy recommendations for the Ghana Education Service are presented based on the findings and how applicable they are in existing theory. Suggestions on how teachers in Navrongo district can improve upon teaching and learning are also discussed.

In the next chapter I aim to set the scene for the reader to understand the context in which changes in basic education in Ghana occurred by critically examining the main policy initiatives that impacted on the establishment of the FCUBE reform.

CHAPTER TWO: A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE POLICY INITIATIVES FOR CHANGE AND INNOVATION IN BASIC EDUCATION PROGRAMMES IN GHANA.

2.0: INTRODUCTION

In order to understand the contexts in which changes in basic education in Ghana occurred, it is important to trace the main policy initiatives that impacted on the establishment of the FCUBE reform. This chapter draws a thread through time looking at the nature of changes in the educational system in Ghana. Issues such as resources, structures and implementation strategies have been addressed in different ways by successive governments. There have been a range of national projects and policies that impacted indirectly or directly on the design and implementation of innovation in Ghana's educational system, prior to the introduction of the FCUBE reform.

Although Ghana's education system had earlier been known to be one of the most highly developed and effective in West Africa (Foster, 1965) by the 1980s it was in near collapse (Scadding, 1989; Peil, 1995) and viewed as dysfunctional in relation to the goals and aspirations of the country. The academic standard of pupils, support for teachers, instructional materials, school buildings, classrooms, and equipment had declined through lack of financing and management. The content and structure of the FCUBE reform touched all levels of the education system and attempted to address the perennial problems of access, retention, curriculum relevance, teacher training, provision of physical structures, and financing.

Due to the numerous problems that plagued the basic educational system in the country, the MOE's call for educational reforms in Ghana in 1996 sounded loudly throughout the country. Educators, policy-makers, and donor organizations all responded to this call resulting in the emergence of a large number of reform initiatives, among which has been the FCUBE reform.

In order to provide a context for the research, the chapter starts with a discussion of the major policy initiatives which preceded the FCUBE reform making specific references to significant policy changes and donor interventions that later influenced the establishment of the FCUBE reform. The chapter also includes discussion of some of the interventions that were set up as a result of the FCUBE Reform. For the purpose of this thesis, the historical development of basic education in Ghana could be divided into three major phases: (i) the pre independence era; (ii) 1951 to 1986; (iii) 1987 to 2003.

2.1: PHASE I: BASIC EDUCATION IN THE PRE INDEPENDENCE ERA

Phase I could be described as being dominated by missionary activities in relation to literacy for trade and the teachings of the bible. Formal education in Ghana dates back to the mercantile era preceding colonisation. European merchants and missionaries set up the first schools and Christian missionaries are said to have introduced western-style education into Ghana as early as 1765 (Antwi, 1991b; Graham, 1971). Many of these institutions, established by Presbyterian and Methodist missionaries, were located in the south of the country in what became the British Gold Coast Colony. The development of educational institutions in Ghana can hardly be dissociated from the general competition of the different denominations for converts at the time. As would be expected, the main aim of these early schools was to facilitate the training of the local inhabitants as interpreters for purposes of trade and as a conversion of Ghanaians to the Christian religion. Thus the curriculum had a narrow focus on basic literacy with the bible and scripture as the main texts of schooling. One can therefore say that these institutions were not meant for education of the kind that could make individuals self reliant in terms of the acquisition of basic functional skills.

As far back as the 1920s, there were early attempts to improve the quality of primary education in Ghana, then Gold Coast, made by Sir Gordon Guggisberg, then Governor of the Gold Coast, between 1919-1927. As he said, '*Primary education must be thorough and be from the bottom to the top*' (McWilliams &

Kwamena-Poh, 1975:57). He went on to emphasise the need for better teaching and improved management of schools. However, because of a shortage of teachers and inadequate funding, Guggisberg's plans for improving primary education were hardly achieved. Most schools in the rural areas were still based in unsuitable buildings ill equipped and poorly staffed or, in some cases, under trees.

2.2:PHASE II: MAJOR POLICY INITIATIVES IN BASIC EDUCATION FROM 1951-1986.

Phase II is characterised by instability in governance as a result of successive military takeovers. This political instability coupled with the rise in oil prices in the early 1970's resulted in economic decline in the country. It was a period of harsh repressive revolutionary zeal of the military regime of 1981 resulting in a significant number of trained and highly qualified teachers leaving the country (Nti, 1999). The education sector was therefore faced with political instability, *ad hoc* measures, and frequent changes in education policy. Teaching and learning in basic education schools had deteriorated to the extent that the mass of school leavers lacked literacy skills. Despite major policy initiatives in basic education between 1951 and 1986, confidence in the once enviable Ghana's education system was shaken.

The period preceding self-rule in 1951 had been characterised by nationalist ideas of political and economic self-determination in the 1930s through the 1940s. However, a massive expansion of the education system to quicken the pace of educational development in Ghana (then Gold Coast) was embarked upon in 1951 by the first president, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. This was in response to a popular demand for education as well as the new Africa Government's intention to organise a planned campaign to abolish illiteracy.

Since independence in 1957 Ghana has made significant strides in its education system. The education landscape in Ghana today is the result of major policy initiatives in education adopted by successive governments through legislative

instruments, commissions and committees. Some of the laws, policy documents and reports, which have helped in meeting the educational needs and aspirations of the people and which are reviewed here include: (a) The Accelerated Development Plan (ADP) of 1951 and the Education Act of 1961; (b) The Dzobo Report of 1973 leading to the establishment of the New Structure and Content of Education of 1974 and the Ghana Education Service Decree (1974); (c) The Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) Law (1983) and PNDC Law 207 (1988); (d) The Basic Education Commission Reports on Basic and Secondary Education (1987 & 1988); (e) The 1992 Constitution of Ghana; (f) The Education Reforms Review Committee Report of 1994; (g) The Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education Policy Document of 1996; (h) Ghana Vision 2020.

2.2.1: The Accelerated Development Plans (ADP) for Education of 1951 & 1961.

The ADP which was launched in 1951 gained legal backing and recognition by the introduction of the Education Act of 1961, which sought to provide free, and compulsory basic education (6 years duration) for all children from six years at public expense. Thus, universal basic education in Ghana dates back to 1961. The 1961 Education Act empowered Local Authority Councils to be in control of educational management whilst parents and guardians were expected to make some contribution to the running of schools in their areas. During the currency of the 1961 Education Act, primary education underwent a rapid and steady growth at an annual rate of enrolment of over 12 percent. The number of schools rose from 1081 in 1951 to 3372 in 1952. Enrolment doubled in a period of five years and Ghana was acclaimed as having the most developed education system in Africa (Foster, 1965; Ghana Human Development Report, 1998; Scadding, 1989).

Realizing the importance of trained teachers for the expanded system, the 1961 Education Act laid further emphasis on the opening of new teacher training colleges, and expanding those already in existence and made provision for the training of unqualified teachers in the field through various emergency and short-

term in-service training programmes. To this effect, teachers' numbers increased by 1000 between 1951 and 1953, with a yearly output rising from 420 to 1,108 trained teachers from teacher training colleges.

In 1961 the entire basic education system (primary and middle school education) was made fee-free and compulsory, although uniforms and books were not free. However, even though school enrolments increased following the 1961 Education Act, the quality of teaching and learning appears to have remained the same. The changes that were effected to cope with the increased pupil enrolments had been insufficient to create a balance between the quantity and quality of the education provided. The most significant factor that affected the imbalance was the educational system's inability to provide schools with trained teachers. With the proliferation of schools therefore, many 'pupil teachers' (i.e. untrained teachers) had to be employed to teach. This led to the dilution of the teaching force resulting in poor teaching and learning in schools during this period.

2.2.2: The Dzobo Committee of 1973 & The New Structure and Content of Education of 1974

Prior to 1972 the education system was criticized as being elitist in character built, as it was, on a selective system similar to the British grammar schools. In 1973 the in-coming military government carried out a review of the educational system, and formed the Dzobo committee to recommend appropriate measures for remedying the situation. This was thought necessary partly because students took 15-17 years of schooling to complete pre-tertiary education and partly because the system had been criticised as being elitist.

Based on the recommendations of the Committee (Dzobo, 1974), the government of Ghana, in 1974, put into operation the first major post-independence reform in pre-university education. The reform is generally referred to as '*The New Structure and Content of Education*' (NSCE). This new structure reduced pre-

tertiary education from 15 - 17 years to 13 years (i.e. from 6-4-5-2 to 6-3-2-2) as follows:

- 6 years Primary School
- 3 years Junior Secondary School
- 2 years Senior Secondary School Lower
- 2 years Senior Secondary School Upper.

The aim was to make it possible for school leavers at any point of exit from the system to leave with skills that would enable them to become employable. The reform was therefore expected to raise the standards at the various levels so that educational standards would not be compromised as a result of the decrease in the number of years spent in the pre-tertiary education level. The thrust of the content of the new reform programme was, generally, to vocationalise pre-university education in Ghana, and by inference, to make it more functional and oriented towards contextual demands and challenges. It also constituted a bold attempt to reduce educational expenditure.

However, despite its laudable intentions, the NSCE did not have any sustainable impact on the general education system of the country. There were still unqualified teachers in the education system, inadequate resources to support teaching and learning in schools, and challenges for teachers within the context and content demands of the curriculum. This again led to an intense unease among parents, employers, academics and some politicians.

The significance of the Government's White Paper on the Committee's recommendations was the acceptance of the 13-years duration of pre-university education for all. It endorsed the introduction of pre-technical and pre-vocational subjects in both primary and junior secondary curricula. The period also marked the establishment of the Ghana Education Service (GES) bringing together, for the first time, teachers, educational administrators and education sector workers into a

new government agency under the Ministry of Education (MOE) to implement the new structure of education.

2.2.3: The Virtual Collapse of the Ghanaian Education System and The PNDC Era of 1981: December 1981 marked the coming into power of yet another military government under the name of 'Provisional National Defence Council' (PNDC). By 1983, Ghana's education system had seriously deteriorated in quality. Enrolment rates stagnated and the percentage of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) allocated to education dropped from 6.4% in 1976 to a low of 1.7% in 1983. Government resources were no longer available to construct, complete or even maintain the existing education facilities.

The scarcity of foreign exchange affected the country's ability to purchase textbooks and other teaching and learning materials. This down-turn in the economy resulted in the mass exodus of qualified teachers to other parts of the continent causing a significant fall in the ratio of trained to untrained teachers in the basic education sector.

Abdallah (1986), then Secretary for Education, speaking on the state of the education system at the time, had this to say:

'Over the past decade, there has been a sharp deterioration in the quality of education at all levels. There has been a virtual collapse of physical infrastructure in the provision of buildings, equipment, materials, teaching aids etc,... To solve these problems, the PNDC has decided to embark upon a comprehensive programme of educational reforms' (p.1).

Due to the economic constraints that faced the country in the late 1970s and early 1980s, as well as the bureaucratic bottlenecks and sheer lack of interest and commitment from administrators, the new programme never went beyond the

experimental stage. There was stagnation and near demise of the experimental Junior Secondary School (JSS) system. By 1983 the education system was in such a crisis that it became necessary for a serious attempt to be made to salvage it. Among the many problems of the system were lack of educational materials, deterioration of school structures, low enrolment levels, high drop-out rates, poor educational administration and management, drastic reductions in Government's educational financing and the lack of data and statistics on which to base any planning.

The period between 1974 and 1986 was therefore marked by a slow progress in the field of primary education. With the shortcomings of the NSCE of 1974 in mind, a far-reaching and revolutionary step was taken by the government of the PNDC in 1987 with a major education reform to revisit and to redress the persisting inadequacies inherent in Ghana's educational system.

2.3: PHASE III: THE MILITARY TO THE RESCUE OF EDUCATION - THE 1987 EDUCATION REFORM

Phase III is referred to here as 'the military to the rescue' and includes the period of major reform which included the FCUBE reform of 1996. It was characterised by Ghana's participation in and endorsement of international agreements such as Education for All, the Declaration on the Rights of the Child, the Beijing Declaration on Women's Rights, the Lome Convention, etc. This meant that Government had to remain committed to her constitutional obligations that guide policy and influence bilateral and multilateral negotiations. Also significant in this period was the government's strong ambition to reform the education system by leaving no stone unturned in restructuring the nation's economic base to bring it into conformity with the credibility levels required by the World Bank. With this condition met, Ghana had the opportunity of negotiating for credits and grants to finance a colossal education reform. Apart from the World Bank credits, several donor agencies came to the aid of Ghana in her reform implementation, a greater part of which was directed to basic education.

In spite of the fact that Ghana had successive military governments from 1966, 1987 marked a new phase in the government's thinking. In 1987 The New Educational Reform Programme (NERP) was introduced with a focus on the total restructuring of the entire pre-tertiary education system and on improving access through the provision of infrastructure whilst making the curriculum more relevant to social and economic needs.

Following the reform, in 1988, Asante, then Minister for Education, in his address on the state of education in the country at the time, stated that the economic decline of the seventies, coupled with the mass exodus of qualified teachers to other neighbouring countries, meant that more than 50 percent of teachers of primary and middle schools had to be replaced by untrained teachers (Asante, 1988). In his address he pointed out that the majority of students had neither textbooks, nor exercise books. Buildings and furniture were in a state of disrepair, and enrolment levels declined to the extent that many of those who went to school did not complete their studies, thus leading to 2/3 of the adult population being illiterate. With motivation and morale low, ineffective supervision became the norm and finally, the much-needed statistics for vital educational planning were unavailable leading to decisions taken on an ad hoc basis.

According to a Ministry of Education Report (MOE, 1988), the NERP of 1987, among other things, sought *'to salvage the educational system and make it more meaningful to the individual and the nation as a whole'*. It is therefore worthy of mention that, even though similar to the NSCE reform, in terms of structure and content, there was a marked improvement on the latter with a revised curriculum which reflected radical changes at the basic education level. The launch of the World Bank programme for education infrastructure also led to the building of 3000 pavilions to support the school system.

This was a period when Ghana enjoyed a lot of goodwill from developed wealthy countries and donor agencies such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The reason for this financial support was the 'success story' of Ghana's Economic Recovery Programme of 1983 (ERP). The reform was therefore supported by a World Bank Sector Adjustment Credit as well as grants from UNDP, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, Norway, Canada and concessional loans from the OPEC fund (World Bank, 1990). The period thus reflected a policy climate conducive and committed to improving educational quality through giving schools the means and responsibility to respond to the change process being initiated at the time. The period also attracted bilateral donors within the education sector and thus witnessed the beginning of a USAID Primary Education Programme in the country.

The goals of the 1987 NERP as summed up in the Sector Adjustment Policy Document of the World Bank (World Bank, 1986) included the following:

- i) Expanding access to education at all levels;*
- ii) Improving the quality of education;*
- iii) Making education more relevant in meeting the needs and aspirations of the individual and the socio-economic conditions of the country;*
- iv) Re-structuring and reducing pre-university education from 17 years (6-4-5-2) to 12 years (6-3-3); and*
- v) Ensuring cost-effectiveness and cost-recovery.*

The new system proposed by the NERP of 1987 provided a structure of 6-3-3-4 years of primary, junior secondary, senior secondary and tertiary education. A major thrust of the reform was the diversification of the formal academic courses

offered in pre-university institutions by the inclusion of practical courses. These changes were intended to correct the perceived elitist education that downgraded technical, vocational and agricultural education. This perception is captured in the address of Professor Dzobo, Chair of the committee which had reviewed previous reforms, at a National Workshop on the 1987 Educational Reforms when he stated that:

'In spite of the bold educational innovative measures of the 1920s and of the subsequent ones, Ghana's formal education system remained Western and predominantly academic and elitist. As a result of the Accelerated Development Plan of Education in 1951, the pre-university educational system has become increasingly dysfunctional as it turns out a lot of school leavers who have no marketable skills, neither do they have the mind to go into self-employment ventures. These leavers could see no bright future for themselves and they come to constitute a veritable economic and social problem for our society to solve' (Dzobo, 1987).

However, these strong sentiments expressed by Dzobo, were not sufficient to ensure implementation of the 1987 Education Reforms, nor did they change the attitude of the public and the educational establishment and, like the English 11+ system, the elitist education system in Ghana still favoured the more academically prepared students. Primary school remained six years in duration and the three-year Junior Secondary School (JSS) system was adopted for universal implementation. Basic Education was made compulsory for all children and was defined as the first nine years of schooling (6 years primary and 3 years JSS). JSS 3 pupils sat the Basic Education Certificate Examination (BECE) to determine their admission into the Senior Secondary School (SSS). It was expected at the inception of the reform programme that basic education was being made accessible to more Ghanaian children, 43% of whom were estimated to be staying out of school before 1987.

In 1994, seven years after the inception of the NERP (The New Education Reform Programme) in 1987, the results of poor performance of school pupils at age 12 led to the setting up of yet another Education Review Committee to review the education system. At this time, of the pupils at grade six in public schools tested nation-wide, (i.e. national criterion-referenced assessment), only 6% achieved a criterion score of 60% and above in English. Even worse, less than 3% achieved a criterion score of 55% and above in mathematics (MOE/PREP, 1994). This Education Review Committee decided to develop and introduce new curricula for primary schools due to the general dissatisfaction with what was taught in schools from the 1960's through to the 1980's. It was argued that a large proportion of the subject matter in the curriculum was not relevant to the pupils' immediate environment. In addition, it was criticised as being overloaded in content and too rigid and compartmentalised, thus reducing the effectiveness of the teaching and learning tasks. As a result of the 1994 review, FCUBE was initiated through the constitutionally mandated charge of the 1992 Constitution.

2.3.1: The clarion call of the 1992 Constitution: the Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education Programme (FCUBE) of 1996

The FCUBE initiative is the Ministry of Education's response to a constitutionally mandated charge based on Article 39 (2) of the 1992 Constitution of the Fourth Republic of Ghana:

'The Government shall, within two years of parliament first meets (sic) after coming into force of this Constitution draw up a programme for implementation within the following ten years, for the provision of free, compulsory and universal basic education (Government of Ghana, 1992).

One may therefore ask, how is the 1996 FCUBE reform policy different from the policies preceding it? Even though the FCUBE policy is not 'new' in terms of

themes and ideas, it is certainly 'new' in the emphasis it has placed on its implementation and the directions it has issued for the programmes.

By requiring that all Ghanaians receive 9 years of free quality schooling, the Government wishes to ensure that all graduates of the basic education system are prepared for further education and skill training. Article 39 (2) of the 1992 Constitution entitles every child of school-going age in Ghana to a balanced and broadly based curriculum which promises to promote the spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical development of pupils at the school and of society. It aims also to prepare pupils for opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of adult life. The expansion and reforms planned under the FCUBE are designed to equip future generations of Ghanaians with the fundamental knowledge and skills necessary, including literacy and numeracy in selected Ghanaian languages, to develop further their talents through additional education or training (MOE, 1987, 1996, 1998).

The four objectives of the FCUBE reform are stated as follows:

- to improve the Quality of Teaching and Learning;
- to improve Management Efficiency and Sustainability;
- to increase Access and Partnership; and
- to decentralize the Management of the Education Sector.

(MOE:1996:15).

The Educational Reforms were therefore designed to expand and improve the quality of education at all levels, make basic education free and compulsory, enhance the relevance of education to the social and economic needs of the country, and improve supervision and management. However, the FCUBE reform is seen to be no different in respect of its objectives when compared with

successive previous educational policy documents (see goals of the 1987 NERP on page 36).

Improving the Quality of Teaching and Learning: According to the FCUBE Policy Document of 1996, the improvement in the quality of teaching and learning would be promoted by curriculum review and development, the provision of textbooks, teaching and learning materials and books for school libraries. In addition, there would be the development of an assessment and evaluation system for pupil performance.

The school curriculum was envisaged to develop in pupils the following: *'skills of listening, speaking, reading and writing and knowledge of the principles and skills of the numeracy, measurement and of the relationship involving space and shape. In addition, knowledge and understanding of the cultural, economic and physical heritage of the people and their neighbours should be emphasised. Research and study skills, skills of enquiry, analysis and knowledge of healthy living plus issues of gender sensitivity in text of curriculum as well as in illustration should be pursued'* (MOE 1996:17).

In line with the policy document, the Basic Education curriculum was designed to achieve literacy, numeracy and to impart appropriate knowledge of culture and practical skills. In addition, exposure and hands-on experience in technical and vocational skills were intended. At the beginning, the curriculum comprised as many as nine subjects. The Education Reform Review Committee later reduced the subjects to five and six in Lower and Upper Primary respectively. This was to allow more time for the development of writing, reading and numeracy skills after the Ministry of Education conceded that subject overload was a factor contributing to the dismal performance of pupils' learning outcomes. Changes to the curriculum were effected in 1996. Currently subjects taught at Lower Primary are English, Ghanaian Language and Culture, Mathematics, Environmental Studies and Religious/Moral Education. For Upper Primary, Integrated Science (Science and Agricultural Science), Physical Education, Music and Dance are

taught in addition to those in Lower Primary schools. The real challenge of the FCUBE is to provide and ensure that an education of comparable quality is made available to all through the evolution of a common school system.

The increasing concern for the quality of teaching and learning in basic schools (primary and junior secondary schools) had brought to light serious problems of teacher education. In view of this concern, the Ministry of Education (MOE) in 1996 tried to step up efforts towards effective teacher training, and even more importantly, to recognize that in-service training is an essential aspect of continued professional development.

Teacher Education: On teacher education, the policy document stresses that, '*The implementation of the fCUBE programme will require the services of a large number of well qualified teachers in the shortest possible time. The teachers should be well-versed in teaching, particularly in primary methodology*', and '*teacher development will be more school-based so that emphasis can be placed on hands-on-training activities in schools*' (MOE 1996:25). It is worthy of note that the estimated number of teachers to be trained was not made explicit.

The development of professional support systems for pre-service and professional continuing education of teachers was, however, linked to '*Materials such as cardboards, newsprint, ... and technical tools will be supplied in adequate quantities*', and '*in-service training of teachers will be school-based.*' (MOE 1996:29).

In-service training, as proposed, was also linked to the training of headteachers who would in turn train teachers:

'After each phase of Headteachers' Continuing Education, Headteachers will organise School-Based Continuing Education for teachers under the supervision of Circuit Supervisors. Circuit Supervisors will visit each school regularly at least once a month to support headteachers in the continuing education of classroom

teachers. School Based Education for teachers will be organised at least twice a week. ' (MOE 1996:31).

The importance of teacher education was emphasised by the pronouncement in 1998 of the Deputy Minister of Education responsible for Basic Education, Kyere (1998), that reform of teacher training was also on the agenda, along side devolution of control, curriculum reform, competency-based training, and a decentralisation of the educational bureaucracy in the country. It is worthy of note that the extensive implications of this target for training teachers in the system were not unpacked.

Overall, there are two features of the 1996 FCUBE Basic Education Policy Document worthy of comment. The first is that the strategy for the revitalisation of quality education is linked to an over-emphasis on material inputs rather than how teachers' attitudes and behaviours in the existing education system could be mobilised to handle the unfamiliar pedagogical issues embedded in the revised curriculum. Secondly, arrangements for the effective supervision and monitoring of the programme at the district level, and how provision was to be made for the necessary logistical support to make such supervision feasible, were matters still left unresolved. Thus the policymakers appeared not to take into consideration the attitudes and behaviours of teachers who have to implement the change. In the Ghanaian situation in particular, this ignores the need for change in teachers' practices rather than simply a change in curriculum materials.

A comparison of the FCUBE reform with its predecessors reveals that the former has directly borrowed many of its ideas from the recommendations of the previous educational policies of past governments. Whenever conferences or commissions are called upon to form a plan for education in Ghana, the tendency seems to be to maintain the existing system with slight modifications. In some places, there is direct acknowledgement of the FCUBE reform's indebtedness to the previous education policies, as illustrated on language issues which always remain one of

the most sensitive issues in any education policy in Ghana. For example the FCUBE reform goes back to the Accelerated Development Plan of 1951, with a renewed commitment to the idea of free and compulsory education for all pupils of school going age. However, one of the major results of the FCUBE reform, in contrast to previous reforms, is the impact that it has had on donor agencies.

2.4: INTERVENTIONS DEVELOPED AS A RESULT OF THE FCUBE REFORM.

Following the FCUBE reform in 1996 and in response to the government's call for improvement in teaching and learning, a number of donor agencies contributed substantial funds for primary education projects in the country. These included the United Nation's Children's Educational Fund (UNICEF), Department for International Development (DFID) of the United Kingdom, the World Bank, European Union, Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA). These resulted in a range of intervention strategies initiated by USAID and DFID which are discussed in the following paragraphs.

USAID AND ITS ROLE IN THE FCUBE REFORM PROGRAMME

The USAID Primary Education Programme (PREP) was introduced in 1990 and provided essential inputs such as textbooks, in-service teacher training courses and national assessment systems to re-strengthen an education system that nearly collapsed during the 1980s. As stated in the USAID/GHANA Evaluation Report of 1995,

'These inputs were necessary but not sufficient for improving school quality and learning outcomes. Likewise efforts to reform national policies to improve conditions at the district and school levels did not achieve the anticipated results' (USAID/GHANA, 1995:1).

Rationale and Strategy for the USAID Programme: The USAID/Ghana primary education strategic objective was intended to assist the Government of Ghana to increase the 'effectiveness' of the primary education system. It aimed to do this through the establishment of 330 'Model Schools', with at least one Model School in each district *'designed to develop, demonstrate and replicate the conditions and processes that are required for improving school standards and ultimately, pupil learning throughout the education system'* (USAID/GHANA, 1995:7). Success was to be measured by a specified increase in achievements of pupils in Model Schools, and a specified increase in enrolment and retention rates.

In promoting effective teaching, USAID pledged to assist the Government of Ghana to train teachers to use pupil centred instructional practices and assessment techniques and to improve school supervision by both circuit supervisors and school headmasters. Plans were made to create a sustainable in-service professional development system and to develop and test distance-learning technologies for teacher training and classroom instruction (USAID/GHANA, 1995:9).

In addition to the Model School intervention, USAID initiated a number of other interventions aimed to help improve teaching and learning in schools. These include the "Linkages in Learning Sequence" (LLS), "Improving Learning Through Partnership" (ILP), "Quality Improvement in Primary Schools" (QUIPS), and "Community School Alliance" (CSA) programmes. A brief discussion of the LLS and QUIPS programmes provides an illustration of some of the USAID activities.

Linkages in Learning Sequence (LLS): The LLS began in 1993 as an "Integrated Learning Sequence" (ILS) initiated by USAID. This later changed to the present LLS, whose object was to implement the Model Schools project described above. Under the LLS, teachers are expected to examine the syllabuses and decide a

theme for the day, select and sequence specific objectives for the subjects with which to link or integrate with other subjects to be taught in the day.

Commenting on the LLS programme, Quansah (2000), a curriculum consultant of the Ghana Education Service attached to the Curriculum Research and Development Division (CRDD), attested to the fact that teachers were getting more confused with the new ideas being preached by the system since they were not given enough orientation on how to handle the issues embodied in the suggested curriculum. He further stated that what is being propagated by the LLS is in line with requirements of federal states but is in direct contrast to the demands of a centralized curriculum design as currently practiced in Ghana.

The observation here is that the approach adopted by USAID assumes that a particular model or strategy can be implemented in many sites with good effect. However, as criticised by Fullan (1993b) of American schools, *'In these projects we can predict that implementation problems will be massive, and that some very good ideas will be produced. ... [But,] the Achilles heel of the New Generation of American Schools is the assumption that producing model schools will change the face of education. They can make a contribution, but local development everywhere is what is going to count.'* One therefore realizes that given that this approach seems problematic in America, doubts about its effectiveness in Ghana are not far fetched.

Quality Improvement in Primary Schools (QUIPS): Another USAID programme, QUIPS, provides technical assistance to work with teachers to develop materials and processes intended to *'produce competent teachers', cultivate education managers and planners, and promote a supportive community-learning environment* (USAID/GHANA, 1995)

The USAID policy document suggests that there is no clear communication by donors and the government teams to teachers in schools to help in the crucial

implementation process. Lack of clear communication is something the external assistance providers have found to be quite challenging when attempting to help a large number of teachers in schools without explicitly outlining the procedures with which they can '*produce competent teachers*' as desired.

The QUIPS programme is currently working in 39 districts out of the 110 educational districts in the country. They have trained 400 teachers and headteachers and over 450 District Assembly, District Education Office personnel and PTA/SMC. However, the current number of primary teachers nation-wide is estimated at 63,700 of which 13.5% are untrained whilst the annual output of newly trained teachers is also estimated at 6000 with an annual attrition rate of 5% (Lewin, 2002b). From the data above, it is very clear that the QUIPS project has not been able to train even 1.0% of the total teacher population in Ghana.

DFID AND ITS ROLE IN THE FCUBE PROGRAMME: Although the UK has supported basic education in Ghana since the mid 1980s, this support appears to have had limited impact. However, it has been suggested that its impact on education outcomes has been constrained because of a lack of a strategic focus (MOE/DFID, 1998). DFID's response to improving teaching and learning initially started with a project called the Integrated School Development Process (ISDP). This later changed to the Whole School Development Process (WSDP) and has now been modified and called Whole School Development (WSD) and introduced in 1998.

WSD is an implementation programme of decentralizing, resourcing and providing support to districts and schools to improve the quality of teaching and learning. It aims to do this by promoting:

Child-centred primary practice in literacy, numeracy and problem solving with the view to improve the quality of teaching and learning in basic schools, encourage community participation in education delivery, and to promoting the

competencies of teaching and learning through school-based in-service training.
(MOE, 1999:2).

The Whole School Development is a continuing process of providing support to headteachers and teachers in basic schools. It provides a mechanism for districts and schools to develop teachers and their schools for effective teaching and learning with emphasis on literacy, numeracy and problem solving. It is part of a DFID policy and strategy that places district plans at the centre of change.

The centre stage of WSD is the classroom where it is hoped that quality teaching provided by competent teachers will result in effective learning. For this to be achieved the school should have competent teachers and resources and the headteacher's capacity to manage the school effectively built up. Also, there should be continuing efforts at updating the competencies of the serving teacher.

WSD also envisages a new approach to teacher development or continuing in-service training. Under the new system being implemented the professional development of serving teachers' competencies does not depend on global in-service training designed by external bodies. Usually, in such top-down designs, the challenges identified do not reflect the needs of teachers. Under the WSD teachers themselves will be responsible for identifying their problems for solution through school-based INSET.

Teacher development, involving all teachers and the head of a school, is a very critical aspect of WSD. The teachers under the leadership of their respective headteachers are required to find solutions to their problems through the use of lead curriculum/instructional leaders at the school level, and also through the cluster of schools arrangement. The District Teacher Support Team (DTST) who would be made up of headteachers and personnel from the district office is to provide support at the district level. A member may be selected from a Teacher Training College. Membership of the team would number 10 and would be

selected at training workshops based on performance, creativity and leadership qualities displayed at the workshops. There are currently 6 schools (made up of 36 teachers) out of a total of 66 primary schools (made up of 485 teachers) in Navrongo district where the WSD is operating. The percentage of teachers who are being exposed to the WSD concept is comparatively low when one considers that there are as many as 485 teachers in the district.

In the Deputy Director General's Status Report on the WSD (Akumfi-Ameyaw, 2000), it is stated that *'schools and cluster-based in-service training sessions, which were expected to take off in 1999 in all 30 phase 1 schools, have not started because of lack of funds'*. Also in the same document, it is stated that, *'the WSD coordinator, 3 Ghanaian primary teacher educators and 4 training supporters from the UK were to train the National Training Group'*. The training of 3600 teachers nationally that was expected to take off early in 1999 has not yet been done. It has also been conceded that, in many districts, the DTSTs have not been able to provide in-service training to teachers, as funds were not made available. It is also expected that changes envisaged in classroom practice, such as critical and independent thinking, inquiry method of teaching etc, will be brought about through school and cluster-based meetings under the leadership of headteachers.

2.5: EFFECTS OF INTERVENTIONS: I have chosen to describe interventions by USAID and by DFID in some detail to show some of the results of the FCUBE reforms in terms of external agents. Whether the various initiatives are able to have positive effects on teachers' professional lives and, more important, the educational experiences of pupils where these interventions are being carried out, is difficult to establish in the different schools in the different districts, with Navrongo district as a case in point.

The need for new understandings amongst teachers is particularly crucial in the case of current reform efforts in basic education because many of the ideas central to these efforts are foreign to Ghanaian teachers. Having grown up in the same

educational system teachers are now being asked to change and are being asked to teach in ways that are unfamiliar to them and in ways that they did not experience as students. Furthermore, the reforms themselves are not based on a prescriptive approach of the kind that Ghanaian teachers have always experienced. Rather, in the reforms teachers are being encouraged to build on pupils' ideas and knowledge to help them develop conceptual understanding and relevant skills. While reformers seek more demanding and engaging teaching and learning, most instruction in Ghana is 'chalk and talk' as it has been for generations. Thus the kind of teaching and learning envisioned in these reforms is not something that most teachers in Ghana understand. The very people who must work on these reforms have little first hand knowledge or experience with this kind of education. Moreover, many see these reforms as visions created by others (such as policy makers), not programmes for practice (by teachers).

Reports from professional development projects have provided considerable evidence that the kind of learning that leads to fundamental change in teaching occurs over a long period of time, with extensive support and multiple opportunities to experiment and reflect (Loucks-Horsley, 1997). It is therefore not surprising to the researcher that teachers are finding problems coping with the suggested methods and the pace with which the desired change is anticipated through the different implementation procedures adopted by USAID and DFID respectively.

Another obstacle to change is the practice whereby conclusions and recommendations of conferences, seminars and workshops, organised jointly by the MOE and donor partners (but donor funded), are taken as policy without going through the proper procedures of discussion to be considered and adopted as official policy. These *ad hoc* procedures seem to have contributed significantly to the deepening of the crisis at the basic education level. That is to say, the way that views of 'good practice' are defined, transmitted and indeed enforced within



schools, is very different from the ways such versions of 'good practice' are responded to and enacted by Ghanaian teachers in classrooms.

2.6: CONCLUSIONS: This chapter has suggested that Educational Reform in Ghana is an extremely complex task. Successive initiatives over several decades contain a number of internal contradictions and inconsistencies as seen in the various strategic approaches adopted by the Ministry of Education and its agencies and the various donor organizations. The policy text is understood as continually being rewritten by a number of policy makers and donors working together and compromising their original intentions in order to construct a text that is acceptable to a variety of interested parties. Due in part to conservatism and in part to lack of financial capacity for more integrative action, both the government and donor agencies have a tendency to seek change at the margins rather than at the core of established practice, relying on a plethora of small projects and demonstrations rather than on more coherent and substantial redesign. Small projects being implemented in selected schools in different districts dotted around the country attest to this fact. Throughout the period 1986-1991, donor activity in Ghana in general, was uncoordinated resulting in the creation of several project implementation units within the MOE and a proliferation of micro education projects in the education sector (Action Aid, 2000).

Provision of in-service has been *ad hoc* and patchy over the reform period even though these initiatives represent a real attempt to retrain and re-skill teachers in curriculum areas which they might have never studied in depth during their initial teacher training programmes. Questions therefore naturally arise concerning what the impact of such courses might be on the teachers' grasp of subject methodologies and subsequent classroom practice.

The Ministry of Education, for its part, has also launched efforts to set goals and standards of various kinds, to create school reform networks, to decentralise

governance and management, and to restructure schools. But efforts to promote teacher education and professional development that will lead to improved practice on a wide scale have yet to emerge. This is because teacher preparation for the reforms took the form of short in-service training courses for teachers to enable them use the new syllabuses effectively and to sensitize them to the objectives of the reforms. The Ministry of Education demands that teaching focuses on pupils' understanding not on memorising facts and that new forms of assessments have been introduced which ask students to perform complex tasks rather than to reproduce what they have been told. Evidence from the Education Review Committee of 1995 (MOE, 1995) and the expressed concern of the Vice Chancellor of the University of Education, Anamuah-Mensah (2003), who is also chairman of the Education Review Committee of 2002, has shown that there is still content overload, and only a minority of schools have felt able to pursue the reform policy requirements.

Recent assertions by the Centre for Research into Improving the Quality of Primary Education in Ghana (CRIQPEG Report, 1995) at the University of Cape Coast, that programme admission standards into teacher training colleges are being raised, that academic quality of education students is improving, and that research is influencing teaching practices for the better are yet to be verified. The quality, effectiveness and attitudes of the teaching force rest heavily on two factors: the type of person recruited to the service and the quality of the pre-service and in-service training.

Embedded in the policies and practices of these current innovations is the belief that pupils' outcomes are positively affected when traditional notions of teaching and learning are reconceptualized (Pryor & Stuart, 1997). Research suggests that educational practices resulting from such reconceptualizations obligate schools to retool and re-train their educators (Antwi, 1991a; Fullan, 1991b; Peterson et al, 1996).

The policy review document of the 1997 Education Review Committee following the FCUBE reform and the government's initiatives following on it seem to be based on two linked principal assumptions that,

i) the basic education system has failed to provide an acceptable level of education improvement to pupils in schools; and that

ii) teachers, especially teachers of basic education schools, are not helping in government's effort to improving pupils' performance in line with the objectives spelt out in the reform agenda. (MOE, 1997).

Overall, the FCUBE reform policy demands many changes: in standards, curriculum, assessment, and instruction. But underlying them are changes more fundamental still: different ways of knowledge and different ideas about the nature, purpose, and scope of school subjects and the ways to meet the needs of a diverse student population.

There are a number of challenges facing the education system in Ghana. First is the fact that there is a chronic lack of resources so that government has been unable to ensure the supply of basic education materials (chalk, exercise books, and textbooks) for many schools despite available donor funds (World Bank, 1996; MOE, 1995; DFID/MOE, 1998). Teaching and learning materials such as textbooks, and teachers' guides and syllabuses are inadequate to meet the needs of teachers and pupils alike (Konadu, 1994; Karikari-Ababio, 2003;). Secondly there is a lack of staff of the right calibre and quantity (Bame, 1991). Thirdly, the system of teacher training is under criticism for admitting students with poor senior secondary school leaving results leading of trainees who lack the motivation, commitment and aptitude for teaching. The training system itself is seen as deficient in its lack of focus on methods of teaching, and criticised for over-emphasising the academic knowledge of trainees (Awuku, 1998; Antwi, 1991a; Dramani, 2003; Gyasi, 2003; Nsowah, 2003). Pedagogical issues such as instructional delivery by most basic schoolteachers is non-interactive,

encouraging pupils learning by rote (Pryor & Stuart, 1997; Dramani, 2003; Gyasi, 2003).

Thus, even in 2003, it may be considered that primary education in Ghana is in the midst of a drastic decline in its standard in terms of quantity and quality (USAID/MOE, 1996; Avotri et al, 1999; Dramani, 2003; Gyasi, 2003; Karikari-Ababio, 2003; Nsowah, 2003). The pedagogical changes facing teachers particularly those in rural areas are complicated by difficulties relating to the medium of instruction for minority language groups, shortage of appropriate learning materials (Karikari-Ababio, 2003) and lack of professional training among teachers (Scadding, 1989; Nsowah, 2003).

In spite of the fact that Ghana's education system has come far, the increasing challenges of the twenty-first century demand that we re-engineer our education system by providing quality professional support programmes to teachers at the basic education level so as to make them more responsive to national goals and aspirations as well as global demands. In this chapter I have attempted to provide a historical and policy context for the research and to highlight some of the issues faced by primary teachers in Ghana today. In the next chapter I review some of the major literature on educational reform in an attempt to provide a conceptual framework for the research.

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW: TEACHERS, INNOVATION AND CHANGE

3.0: INTRODUCTION

In recent years there have been numerous attempts to introduce reforms or innovations in education in both the developed and developing countries. The aim of this chapter is to take a critical review of selected outstanding works from a very diverse and vast literature on educational innovations and change. The chapter explores important concepts from theoretical and practical perspectives drawing heavily on literature reviewed from the UK and the USA. This is mainly due to the fact that most of the literature comes from this part of the world.

The chapter draws mostly on literature on how to bring about positive change in our complex, diverse and rapidly changing times. It begins with a section about why change in educational institutions is so complex. Issues of innovation from the 'implementation' and 'phenomenological' perspectives are addressed.

The chapter also illustrates the developmental nature of innovation over time, the various phases encountered, the factors affecting change and the strategies or models employed. Teachers as individuals and the knowledge of the contexts in which they work inform this study. The review of literature is therefore structured around innovation and change, teacher development, and organisational climate of schools.

The overarching conceptual framework for this study is the work on educational change by Fullan from whose work I draw extensively. His conceptualisation of education and change focuses on the understanding of the real complexity of educational reform in action and provides new insights and lessons for change concerning moral purpose and what he called '*tri-level reform*' – the school and community, the social district, and the state. He draws on reform initiatives across many levels and countries so that the ideas are grounded in the reality of educational projects and findings as forces of change play themselves out within

and across the three levels. He reflects on the daunting tasks of how systems can be '*guided*' not '*managed*' to change for the better. He tries to unlock the '*black box*' of why collaborative cultures really work and what it takes to create and sustain them. He presents conflicts, diversity, and resistance as potentially positive and essential forces for success. He unpacks the problem of transferability by explaining why others do not use obvious good ideas and how to reframe strategies so that larger scale change becomes possible. His work is deeply theoretical and powerfully practical and provides a foundation for understanding the relationship between teachers, schools, and the community at large.

The final section briefly addresses the implications of both the theoretical and empirical evidence relating to educational change and how these relate to the present study. Although much of the literature in this thesis is from the developed world, my aim is not to regard the developed world as a role model. The uniqueness of Ghana as a distinct setting from that of a developed country is seriously taken into consideration by setting the context in chapter 2 and discussing the study findings in chapter 7.

3.1: THE MANAGEMENT OF CHANGE: The management of change has been the subject of much study and investigation. This first section looks at some of the key themes and models in the change literature. It explores the nature of change generally in order to explain why change is difficult to manage and understand. It then briefly reviews sources of resistance to change in organizations. Working with resistance to change is one of the key leadership tasks in change management. The section then looks at the change process, as described by different authors and theorists. The final part of the section outlines models for understanding and analyzing the change process.

3.1.1: The nature of change: Morrison (1998) provides a very useful analysis of the main themes in the literature on educational change and the management of educational change. He identifies the main themes as follows:

- i. Change is structural and systemic;
- ii. Change is a process that occurs over time;
- iii. Change is multi-dimensional;
- iv. Change is viewed differently by various participants and therefore calls up a range of responses;
- v. Change strategies emerge over time, are flexible and adaptive; and that
- vi. Change management requires investment in technological resources.

Morrison's identification of the main themes as outlined above does not, however, take account of the different contexts of change in developing countries. The usefulness of his themes will be examined further in the context of primary teachers' views of their situation and experiences with the FCUBE reform in Ghana since a management strategy for education reform that works in one place may not work well in another. It may even become more complicated if different projects are operated in the same country under different agencies, and it may not also work in the same agencies for projects or components with different levels of innovation as noted by Mettle-Nunoo & Hilditch (2000) in their report on donor participation in the education sector in Ghana.

3.1.2: The Change Process in Education: A number of authors refer to five stages in the process of innovation and change: Initiation, Planning, Implementation, Evaluation and Institutionalization (Fullan, 1993a; 1993b, Griffith, 1990). It is also well known that a successful change process over time is

not linear, but consists of a series of stages that merge into each other. According to Fullan (1991a), the three overlapping stages are (i) initiation, (ii) implementation, and (iii) institutionalization or incorporation.

The *Initiation* stage (i) is the decision of embarking on change and developing commitment towards the process. Fullan (1991a) presents a list of factors that make for successful initiation: a change closely tied to a school need; a clear, well-structured approach to change; an active involvement of the staff; external support; active initiation to start the innovation (top down is all right under certain conditions); and good quality change. Even though these factors are seen by Fullan to make up for successful initiation in my opinion there is also the need to consider the importance of the different levels at which change may occur, for example, from the centre to the periphery, international to local as well as the complex pattern of roles played out by parents, teachers, bureaucrats, researchers, policy-makers or foreign consultants.

Implementation (ii), he explains, is the phase of the process that has received the most attention. The key activities that occur during implementation are the carrying out of action plans, the developing of sustaining commitment, the checking of progress and the overcoming of problems. According to a number of writers (Fullan, 1993b, Hopkins et al., 1994; Miles, 1987) the key factors making for success are: the responsibilities for orchestration / coordination; shared control during implementation; a mix of pressure and support; adequate and sustained staff development and in-service support; and rewards for teachers early in the process. This phase involves preparation of strategies and sometimes experimentation.

However, the evaluation of many international agencies, such as the World Bank who appear to subscribe to this perspective, has revealed a great discrepancy between their policies and what happens on the ground, especially in Africa (Harley et al, 2000; Middleton, 1986; Rondinelli et al, 1990; Samoff, 1999; Steiner-Khamisi & Quist, 2000; Verspoor, 1988; 2003). It would appear important

from these reviews that educational planners do not have to rely solely on the stages of the change processes as outlined by Fullan and others but to approach the change process by considering the contextual factors and constraints that might operate in specific settings.

For an innovation to continue and become institutionalised depends on whether:

- i. The change becomes embedded in the structure of the institution;
- ii. There is a critical mass of staff at a variety of levels who are skilled in the new ways and are committed to them;
- iii. There are resources to provide some form of aftercare to support the initiative and to help develop those new to the innovation.

Given the potential constraints associated with institutions such as structures, inadequate resources and staff capabilities, what is the likely success for change in disadvantaged school settings in a developing country such as Ghana?

Institutionalization (iii) is the phase when change stops being regarded as something new and becomes part of the usual way of doing things. This stage does not happen automatically and it requires different strategies if success is to be achieved. However, the failure of many efforts towards change is associated with many centralised initiatives, which tend to be unsuccessful.

Fullan (1991a) does not appear to explain the place of critical abilities versus skills of the people involved in the change process, but he goes on to show how the change process unfolds over a period of time. He argues further that change is complex, and that until you start the journey you do not know what is going to happen.

The strength of Fullan's work is that he explores the full complexity of change, and considers the stages at all levels from individual teachers to central government. In this way, he helpfully addresses the issue of the multiple perspectives on change. However, in my view and experience of reforms in Ghana, in practice, the implementation of change seems even more complex than the case presented by Fullan. For example, in the Ghanaian socio-cultural context, people are more prone to do what they are told to do by the significant others in society without questioning, than venture into the world of uncertainties. This view is supported by the research evidence of Ackummey & Stephens (1996) on primary teachers and action research in Ghana, who stated that the Ghanaian teacher is the person who waits for the top hierarchy to say, "*You are to do this, you are to do that*" and they implement it.

Fullan's (1991b; 1993b) greatest contribution in this field, and which will be examined in the interpretation of the findings of this study, is the emphasis he gives on the phase of the implementation of the innovation. He argues that implementation is about:

- a) what really matters in the change process;
- b) doing, trying and following through – it is about sustained effort over time;
- c) mobilisation – about galvanising the teachers to change their classroom practice in significant ways;
- d) rolling programmes of work which are fluid and dynamic;
- e) above all, making change stick.

In my opinion, however influential these factors regarding the implementation of change or innovation are, they are not interpreted and played out in the same way by all countries. Nation states lose some of their policy autonomy more especially where projects are influenced by external funding agencies. Also, some countries do not respond to global trends and pressure with similar policies. Different countries as a result of the different combinations of global, national and local forces therefore adopt different implementation policies. What Fullan does not include at the implementation phase of change is the will of the people involved in the change process. In Ghana for instance, it does appear that the dimension of motivation, interest, and general involvement of people in any change is highly associated with how much they have internalised a resolve to take part in the innovation. In my own experience, the ability of policy makers to have control over the organisational, social and political processes that affect implementation is limited. They are not sufficiently close or rooted in the dynamics on the ground to produce anything but vague and, sometimes, ambitious recommendations, often in conflict with one another thereby compromising the effectiveness of implementation.

In new models for innovation, an organizational capacity for continuous renewal and growth points towards the direction of the future and changing the culture of schools; what schools do, and how they work is a real agenda (Fullan & Hargreaves, 1992; Nias et al, 1992). Concerning the method that is used to introduce an innovation in education, Fullan (1993b), argues that neither 'top down' nor 'bottom up' strategies for educational reform work. He proposes a combination of the two and highlights the teachers' role within this procedure. If a change is to be conceived, planned, negotiated and adopted in education, participation in the process at the various stages must fulfil a range of roles. Kelly (1980) identifies three categories of the change agent – the change generators, the change implementers, and the change adopters – each having a distinctive influence on the progress of a change. The issue of course is 'what is the mix that is appropriate for a given national context in trying to reform or change'? It does

not seem easy to strike a balance between top-down and bottom-up approaches to reform.

Concerning the circumstances under which teachers are involved in the change procedures, research findings support that voluntary adoption is the best. Claxton (1989) argues that the only kind of change worth promoting is self-chosen change, where teachers have somehow got over the barrier between '*I should change*' and '*I want to change*'. However, some researchers believe that even this does not lead to certain success (Fullan, 1993a, 1993b; McLaughlin & Marsh, 1978), and a lot more seems to be needed in order to achieve successful implementation of innovation and change in education. The extent to which teachers in this study specifically articulate the desire to change will be examined.

Fullan points out that innovation is a highly complex situation: '*under conditions of uncertainty, learning, anxiety, difficulties and fear of the unknown are intrinsic to all change process, especially at the early stages*' (Fullan, 1993a: 25). He therefore identified three dimensions of innovation: namely the use of materials, the use of new teaching approaches and the alteration of beliefs, such as pedagogical assumptions and underlying theories. It seems that innovation in education passes through several stages. And it is also clear that usually the involvement in these stages is not pleasant, easy or joyful since a lot of time and resources are required of the participants in their change effort. The problem I envisage here is that the capacity of teachers for adaptability needs to be worked upon not only at times of change. It may be too late then, and the inability to adapt and to be flexible may be an insurmountable obstacle.

3.1.3: Responses to change: In an early study, Gross et al (1970) identified five barriers to the implementation of any innovation. Taken together these indicate the significant role played by teachers:

- i. the teacher's lack of clarity about the innovation;

- ii the lack of the kinds of skills and knowledge needed to conform to the new role model;
- iii the unavailability of required instructional materials;
- iv the incompatibility of organizational arrangements with the innovation; and
- v loss of staff motivation.

From this scenario, the issue for this study is 'how does all this relate to a historically entrenched authoritarianism on the part of the change administrators on the change agents'?

Stigelbauer (1994:1) for her part refers to the elements that are important to the actual work of change: *people, processes, practices and policies*. She initiates a 'model' about how change fits into today's educational systems and argues that, '*the secret of change still lies in the applied common sense of the people involved*'. However, in the Ghanaian context, it will appear, (see section 2.6) that, these transformations regarding processes, practices and policies, and the learning that they require, are not likely to occur without support and guidance.

It is becoming well known therefore that the procedure of change is complex. Back in the 1970s, when research on innovation in schools began in earnest, change was viewed primarily as classroom change – one teacher, one classroom, and one innovation. Many innovations adopted a perspective of '*technical rationality*' (Miles, 1992). That means that teachers seemed to accept an innovation when it was practical and largely suited their own needs in the classroom. The central paradigm for planned educational change through the early 1980s provided an innovation focused on a perspective of the implementation of single changes and instruction (Fullan, 1985). '*Thinking about change was linear in those days*' (Stiegelbauer, 1994:1). Change in those circumstances could be described as an 'event' because it was selected and announced; and it was assumed that change would then simply happen.

Central to the success of change is the individual and as such a large body of literature has been developed around the phenomenon of initial resistance to change. People are creatures of habit; they tend to follow the same path during their life. Morris (1988) argues that people are naturally resistant to changes, especially those that require a change in behaviour. *'The first barrier to change centres on difficulties with altering the status quo'* (Stoddart & Niederhauser, 1993:15).

Change is expected to be difficult, in several aspects. Problems are inevitable and are 'welcome', in order to help people learn through them and lead to success. A lot of research has been devoted to the difficulty of change and innovation as teachers experience it. Bennett (1980:72) argues that *'curriculum innovation is indeed accompanied by a building up of uncertainty, arising from the complexity, ambiguity, and which often characterise curriculum development projects'*

Specifically in education, if an innovation is to be successfully implemented, change should occur in several educational aspects. In education, teachers are both the agents of change and the subjects of change. It is assumed that as humans, they seem to react reluctantly towards any effort for change. In most cases, change originates from outside influences, and frequently, there is no choice but to make the change. But many argue that people have a tendency to seek to maintain stability or 'homeostasis' (Schon, 1971); therefore, any force for change is not easily accepted.

Teachers seem to experience a lot of difficulties in an innovation setting. Fullan (1993b) supports the idea that all difficulties faced by the participants in an innovation are natural and have to be coped with, in order to have the successful involvement of the teacher in the innovative setting. To Fullan, *'Conflict is essential to any successful change effort'*. It would appear that in the Ghanaian context, and from my own experience of the authoritarian and hierarchical nature of the society in general, when people are faced with conflict situations where

their views are seen to be drowned by the significant other, they are more likely to exhibit a less caring attitude and a sense of resignation resulting into their doing minimal work with less commitment. In that case, Fullan's assertion might not hold sway. These fears are further testified to by Samoff (1999) and Buchert's (2002) analysis of how far governments and aid agencies will have to go in order to develop common understanding and practices in the education sector development programmes in African countries, Ghana inclusive.

David (1994:2) believes that previous waves of reform in America have amply demonstrated the futility of mandating challenging curriculum without changing the rest of the system in ways that support teachers. *'Policy changes from a tool to prescribe and control behaviour to a tool to empower people and facilitate change with appropriate checks and balances'*. Significant changes in teaching and learning require significant changes in the entire education system.

3.1.4: The Teacher and the Understanding of Educational Change

An interesting point made by Fullan (1993a, 1993b) is that during the process of innovation some teachers might experience a feeling of false clarity; that means that they think they understand the new procedure, but they actually do not. On the other hand, other teachers are very anxious when confronted with an innovation and actually know that there is something new and/or difficult that they need to be involved in; yet, they realize that they do not have the necessary understanding and/or skill for successful implementation. Fullan describes this as a feeling of painful unclarity, since they suffer while trying to achieve success. In this study, the views of teachers on how they understand the FCUBE reform have been explored using questionnaires and interpreted through teacher interviews.

It is important for teachers to understand the philosophy and the rationale of an innovation. In discussing change it is often useful to identify 'aims', 'goals', and 'objectives' quite distinctly, and separately, even though for many purposes these distinctions will blend into one another. Rudduck (1988: 208) argues that teachers *'have to understand what they are trying to achieve, why they are trying to*

achieve it and how'. Herriot and Gross (1979) argue that most studies on organizational change efforts in education lacked adequate theoretical underpinning; that is to say, they lacked a philosophical background or failed to make it explicit, ending in a failure. Hawkrigde (1990) supports the idea that all must be clear about the rationale behind the innovation.

The flaw here is that they both seem to assume that communication by itself can generate development, regardless of the environmental, economic, social, cultural and political conditions or situations in which teachers find themselves and which can exercise a crucial constraining influence on their willingness and ability to change. Their arguments seem to picture teachers as passive receptors of messages who can be triggered into compliance with a proposed change if only the right message in the right code from the right source through the right channel is picked up.

It is essential to provide teachers with the mechanism to enable them to understand and practise the philosophy, the aims and objectives, and the content of the innovation. Fullan (1993a) presents the profile of the teacher of the future who will have a deep understanding of what the change effort is, and works in highly interactive and collaborative ways, trying to get through the complex dynamics of the change process. However, interactivity in the Ghanaian society may be seen as interfering with traditional power structures (Nukunya, 1992a; 1992b; Ackumme & Stephens, 1996).

Rudduck (1991:92) usefully argues that *'in order to feel a sense of control, (teachers) have to recognize what it is that they want to change. It is not easy, however, to help teachers to arrive at such complex understandings'*. The scope of planning for change must be gradually widened for teachers by the use of external supports. Another way that this can be done is that the rationale of the innovation can be communicated to the target group – which is the teachers – through INSET, but it seems it is being imposed on them. One difficulty with putting into action

any model for the implementation of change is that those initiating the change are left with the problem of deciding exactly what actions to take. The contexts and content of change are so varied that it can be difficult to know what to do, or where to start; an issue that is explored through teacher interviews in this study.

3.2: THE TEACHER AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF CHANGE

The baseline of any change is working with people who will put the plans into operation, people who will lead, support, and act as resources, and people who will act as catalysts and energizers. Early research has recognized the central importance of people in the change process, but it has taken a long time to define what that recognition should mean for the planning process. Huberman (1988:125) argues that teachers, *'... usually the objects of change, are historically independent craftspersons who often work in isolation and who place great value on the practical outcomes of their work'*. Research reveals that the more contact which occurs, especially one on one supportive contact and group problem solving or process analysis and discussion (Miles, 1992), the more likely it becomes that these independent individuals will take on the change.

Indeed many of those who have made a study of curriculum innovation have argued that teacher beliefs, attitudes and ideas, about the innovative programme are crucial for successful implementation. Fullan (1991b) asserts that an individual's involvement with and commitment to change is largely motivated by his or her understanding of the meaning of change (subjective reality). However, subjective meaning can be mediated by dealing with the objective reality. Therefore, it is important for the teachers to get an objective meaning of the innovation. It is the transformation of subjective realities, or the establishment of a new meaning or relationship to the change that is the essence of any substantive change process. The objective meaning that teachers acquire is related to the practical issues that embody the change (Huberman, 1988). Objectively, a change has to have practical outcomes for them and for their students.

Research evidence equally reveals that ill conceived and misunderstood innovation may create a 'mismatch' between the 'intended innovation' and innovation 'in practice', what Zaltman and Duncan (1997) referred to as 'performance gap'. In order to overcome this issue, Havelock and Huberman (1977) and Hogan (1992) all suggest a problem solving approach which provides a conceptual framework to understand the curriculum change process and the nature of factors that affects curriculum changes within specific settings. It is obviously crucial to examine the teachers' stances and 'voice' towards the innovation itself. In order to do that, one has to consider the teacher in all phases of the innovation implemented, both at the external and organisational level as well as the internal and personal one; hence the exploration of the teachers' views through the questionnaire survey and teacher interviews in this study.

Time, as part of the school and classroom organisation, has been found to be a key factor influencing the teachers' role in an innovation. It has been reported as such not only by researchers but also by teachers themselves when asked to comment on their role in the change process. '*Time is the energy of freedom. Or so it seems to teachers*' (Hargreaves, 1995:95). Time presses down on the fulfilment of their wishes. Time confounds the implementation of change. According to Barber and Brighouse (1992), teachers accept, indeed welcome, increased responsibilities, but they find it difficult if not impossible to cope with the extra work without some assistance. Many of the authors agree on the need for time and ongoing support in order for such a role to occur and in order to see any substantial impact on student learning. This view corresponds with recent developments regarding classroom Assistants in English schools by Her Majesty's Government (Revell, 2002). I shall explore this in the Ghanaian context.

According to Wray (1984), teachers are more concerned with dealing with the immediate needs of their students than in accomplishing long-term goals. He argues that even when teachers are involved in a 'change process' they do not necessarily react in the way the reformers would want them to, but rather in the

way that suits them. To support this, Wray (1984) adds that teachers never really adopt innovative practices wholesale but always adapt them to suit the varying needs in the classroom as they perceive them. This implies that teachers actually practise the innovation as it suits them in the classroom and not as it is imposed on them from the top. Thus, teachers seem to respond to innovations that are immediately relevant or useful to them in terms of classroom activities; but they seem less interested in the expression of long-term aims that have little to offer in terms of practical support. As Elliot (1990:25) demonstrates with the Ford Teaching Project, *'teachers, given the opportunities within their institutions for reflection, are able to articulate and develop the pedagogical theories implicit in their practices'*.

Miles (1987), contends that all change initiatives need to satisfy certain conditions such as:

- i. Clarity: teachers must understand clearly what is expected of them;
- ii Relevance: teachers must feel that the change being promoted are meaningful, practical, applicable and connected with their everyday concerns;
- iii. Action images: teachers must be able to visualize what is expected of them and what the changes look like in practice;
- iv. Will: this is the dimension of motivation, interest, and involvement. Teachers must acquire the 'internalized resolve' (Holly, 1987), to do something with their newly acquired knowledge;

- v. Skill: teachers must acquire the necessary skills to be able to do the action as envisaged.

Although these five issues help in determining the feasibility of project designs, they must be addressed differently in different countries. Miles (1987) also misses the issue of time as an essential element from his list. In most cases the nature and scope of the intervention must remain tentative at the outset of the project and tested and adapted in local environments. Moreover, one cannot simply assume that interventions tested in western countries will have the same effects in less developed countries where environments are less certain and management capacity is weak (Rondinelli et al, 1990; Samoff, 1999). These should not be generalised nor even applied to all historical periods within any country.

In conclusion, it must be said that if teachers are to be truly professional, they must have a role in generating knowledge about the curriculum and participating in all the innovative efforts from their genesis (Tanner and Tanner, 1980). It is clear that the participation of the teacher throughout the implementation of the innovation, and indeed from its early stages, can lead to success.

3.3:ORGANISATIONAL FACTORS AND THE TEACHER'S ROLE IN EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION AND CHANGE.

As stated in the preceding sections, a number of factors seem to be associated with the teacher's involvement into an innovative setting. In the sections that follow, an attempt is made to clarify the teacher's role and involvement in innovative practice. The literature that has been reviewed implies that we may usually discuss teachers' roles and involvement under two broad categories: i.e. the *Organizational level*, which stresses external factors involving the school and administration, and the *Personal level*, which also emphasises internal factors involving several other factors associated with the teacher's attitude towards the innovation and also to some motivational factors. A review of the research in this

area also reveals that teachers are key factors for the successful implementation of educational innovation.

In order to support the analysis reported in later chapters, I have attempted to extract from the vast literature on educational change, material that will both examine some of the major themes outlined in chapter 7 and that which relates to what are seen as key elements in the FCUBE reform programme. Thus, using the distinction between organizational and personal factors stated above, the discussion that follows focuses on literature relevant to the main factors in the organizational environment that could help shape the implementation of the FCUBE or otherwise. The personal concerns of teachers as they confront the FCUBE are discussed in a later section.

3.3.1: Organizational Level

The research reviewed in earlier sections implies that teachers involved in an educational innovation should be included in the decision-making procedures quite early on; at the national-administrative level of the innovation and/or at the local level of the district or school. For several years in the past, policy makers have been trying to implement new and exciting innovations in apparently resisting classrooms. Traditionally, teachers have been implementers or managers of someone else's curriculum. That is a possible reason for the failure of many innovations.

Studies by Robertson et al (1995) have emphasized the role of being involved in school level decision making, as an important factor affecting teachers' attitudes and perceptions. In particular, it is expected that participating in school level decision making will promote teacher receptivity to the change, and thus, will be associated with teachers' attitude to the change. Moreover, *'success in the early implementation phase is crucial for motivating teachers to further activities and to elicit commitment to the change efforts'* (Akker & Plomp, 1992:74). Herriot and Gross (1979) suggest that a first strategy to overcome staff resistance to

change is involvement and participation in decisions about the innovation. They also refer to '*group dynamics*', pointing out that the involvement of all interested parties in decision-making and other procedures of the innovation, promotes success. An acceptance of change as a fact must lead us to the recognition of the need to create the conditions under which it can happen, and indeed flourish.

Blenkin et al. (1992) point out that the only route to continuous and lasting improvement in education quality is via the professional development of teachers. Staff development has indeed been identified as extremely important for innovation. According to Dilworth and Imig (1995), the national educational goal in USA has become '*teacher education and professional development*' (1995, p. 7). This suggests that practising teachers are the key to the transformation of schools, and, in order for teachers to lead the reform efforts they need to be offered explicit and enriched professional development experiences. Since the rationale of the innovation must be clear to the teachers involved in change, the training task becomes a crucial factor in successful implementation. Teacher training and/or INSET must be a major task in innovation programmes.

3.3.1.1: *In-service Education and Training (INSET)*

This subsection focuses on in-service education and training. INSET is defined here as a planned event, series of events or extended programme of accredited or non-accredited learning, in order to distinguish it from less formal in-school development work and extended partnerships and inter-school networks. The management, purposes, processes and outcomes of in-service education and training are discussed. It examines policy and institutional contexts and their influence upon INSET agendas and focuses upon issues of impact and effectiveness.

According to Steadman et al (1995), cited by Day (1999), an important message that emerges from research into INSET effectiveness is that it contains two complementary elements:

Education which helps you decide what to do, and Training which helps you to do what is necessary more consistently, effectively and efficiently (Steadman et al, 1995:67).

According to Hargreaves (1994c: 430),

'New teachers are welcomed but left alone; INSET is left to choice and so goes to the most ambitious and those with the least need for it; most INSET is in the form of courses, takes place off the school premises, and is for the benefit of the individual: it does not grow from institutional needs nor is there any mechanism for disseminating the outcomes within the school'.

Rather than developing reflective practitioners who are able to understand, challenge and transform their practice, in-service education in its current form in Ghana, as viewed from the various intervention strategies outlined in chapter 2, encourage the development of teachers to see their world in terms of what Sachs and Logan (1990:479) described as *"instrumental ends achievable through the recipes of 'tried and true' practices legitimated by unexamined experience or uncritically accepted research findings"*. Professional development in this conception has been described as a *'deficit model'* in which INSET is seen as a straightforward activity making good deficits in a teacher's repertoire (Gilroy & Day, 1993). Different levels of resourcing and traditions of teaching are taken for granted in some of these writings (see section 3.4).

Jackson (1971) contrasting the 'deficit' and 'growth' approaches to INSET, views the former as based upon an external view that teachers do not have the level of knowledge and skills necessary to motivate students to fulfil their achievement potential. The goal is, therefore, to equip them with these. However, those who promote the latter approach attest that teacher growth is necessary, but that *'In teaching, as in life, the roads to wisdom are many'; that teaching is a complex, multi-faceted activity; that good teaching demands more than the sum of*

knowledge and skills; and that schools and classrooms are not always environments in which professional learning is encouraged or supported (Jackson, 1971:27).’

INSET effects are most likely to be sustained when they can be adapted to and supported by local classroom and school contexts (McLaughlin, 1993). Those who fund INSET should appreciate that the path from a new idea to classroom goes via a sequence of awareness, learning, ownership and application, and that a premature desire to evaluate classroom outcomes inevitably means that essential intermediate stages of INSET will be judged to have failed when that may not necessarily be true (Steadman et al, 1995).

Eraut et al (1987) suggest that, after an INSET event, teachers should:

- i) acquire the intended knowledge, skills and attitudes;
- ii) incorporate them into practice;
- iii) teach in ways which influence students’ learning and achievement; and
- iv) possibly influence other teachers in their school.

This presents a (falsely) simplistic scenario. What Eraut et al (1987) fail to realise is the difficulty teachers sometimes face in trying first to understand what they are taught and secondly, how to implement what they learn from INSET programmes in their classrooms without the guidance of the facilitators of the change. In Ghana, where INSET does not take account of the development phases of teachers, or their intellectual and emotional development needs (see chapters 2 & 6), it is unlikely to enhance their capacity for skilled commitment over a longer

period. Classroom and school improvement efforts are thus likely to be diminished (Day, 1999).

Bradley (1991:2) emphasizing the teacher as a person, and stressing the purposes of staff development, holds the view that INSET should:

- *make people feel valued in the job they do;*
- *enable them to do this job well so that they receive the positive feedback essential for job satisfaction and for motivation;*
- *encourage them to derive excitement and satisfaction from their involvement in change;*
- *make them feel willing and competent to contribute constructively to the development of the school.*

Bradley's (1991) views are corroborated by Rudduck (1988) who argues that teachers have to understand what they are trying to achieve and why they are trying to achieve it; an important issue that seems to be missing in the change process in Ghana. A central component of strategies for improving the quality of education and the implementation of new government programmes and policies are often the short in-service course. Virtually every text on innovation points to the fact that adequate training is essential to success (see for example, Joyce and Showers, 1983; Wang and Gennari, 1983). Evidence suggests that in order to have successful curriculum innovation, teachers must be provided with the capability to understand the change process through the INSET provided (Fullan, 1993b; Hargreaves, 1995).

Teachers also act as learners who seek knowledge and support. In addition, teachers themselves have asked for appropriate INSET and made their training needs on innovation clear (Rudduck, 1991). Research by Stein and Wang (1988) implies that staff development programmes should include strategies for developing and sustaining teachers' motivation to use what they already know

about effective teaching practices. Tanner and Tanner (1980:625) have argued that INSET provided is often insufficient if the teacher is to act as a change agent: *'our expectations of teachers continue to be unrealistic in view of the kind of preparation they receive (and the kind of assistance they get when out of the job)'*. As far as the duration of INSET is concerned, Cox et al. (1988) found that short INSET courses were not very effective in promoting uptake and that teachers need an ongoing training programme. The study will examine the quality of the INSET provided.

3.3.1.2: Teacher Collaboration and Collegiality

The literature of the 1990s, in general, shifts the teacher's pedagogic role from that of a fact teller, and always the expert in the classroom (although not in the context of reform), to a collaborator and sometimes a learner. It is therefore relevant to investigate whether any of the in-service activities engaged in the FCUBE reform are likely, even theoretically, to promote collaboration among teachers working together in their respective schools or in a cluster of schools.

In my opinion, positive teacher interaction can facilitate collaboration in schools. If meaningful change is to be based at school level, teachers play key roles in facilitating that change. As noted in the preceding paragraph, teacher collaboration is now viewed as a powerful ingredient in most professional development models. These models emphasize practices such as coaching teachers (Showers, 1990), working in study groups (Joyce et al, 1989), conducting peer observations (Hopkins et al, 1994; Norrish, 1996), and developing a community of learners (Little, 1993; Loius et al, 1996). Teacher collaboration on the school site not only offers a mechanism for learning and planning but also a social support system that can build camaraderie and collegiality (Bol et al, 1998). Teacher educators can make great contributions to the climate of their schools and the morale of colleagues and students by simply being available and willing to interact with others (Livingston, 1987).

As teachers collaborate to develop and evaluate new practices, the inquiry process itself becomes an important component of staff development, providing opportunities for teachers to articulate goals, address questions and concerns, and find solutions together (Clark & Astuto, 1994; Darling-Hammond & McLaughlin, 1995). Unlike standardized curricula, which provide uncertainty and predictability, new approaches to teaching require teachers to weigh conflicting demands and reflect on new practices. Researchers have consistently found that in order for teachers to facilitate higher order thinking in children, they too must have ample opportunities to construct their own understanding and theories. As Joyce and Calhoun (1995:54) point out, staff development must not be offered as, *'Here is stuff that has been researched, so use it!'* Rather, effective staff-development requires opportunities to be enriched by what Meier (1995) refers to as *'the power of each others' ideas'*. Research showed that simply implementing what others have deemed as "best practice" does not lead to a sense of competence, purpose, or commitment, essential to the implementation of the "mindful" curriculum. As Fullan (1993b) observed, *'it's not a good idea to borrow someone else's vision'*.

Many authors argue that innovation is more successful when teachers work in a collegial and collaborative way (Campell, 1985:7; Fullan, 1993b; Hargreaves, 1992; Nias et al, 1992). McBeath, (1995:14) describing the strategy of teacher collaboration in his project, argued that *'... by the encouragement of teacher level collaboration and involvement, the strategy offered the opportunity of bottom-up interaction with a top-down mandate to change'*. Teachers need to work in a highly interactive and collaborative environment if there is to be a successful implementation of the innovation. All the above stated arguments sound positive. However, their applicability in the Ghanaian context will depend on how well teacher educators and teachers themselves translate these into mutually supportive ways to reap positive results without people having to always look up to others deemed important by virtue of the authority structures or their occupation of higher positions for direction. Even under circumstances where participatory processes are introduced in the system, final decisions are always

influenced by the significant others in the group (Buchert, 2002), a situation which needs to be revisited.

According to Hoyle (1997:5), *'two indicators that collegial relationships exist in schools are, teachers observing other teachers, and teachers talking about their practice'*. This, he contends, *'provides them the opportunity to engage in the kind of thoughtful conversations that lead to higher levels of learning and growth'*. Corroborating Hoyle's views, Hargreaves and Evans (1997:11), quoting Little (1990), point to the fact that, *'some of the most valuable forms of professional learning teachers get are those which involve connecting with colleagues in other schools, receiving feedback and ideas from consultants or 'critical friends' outside their own institutions, and generally having access to other practices, ideas and advice that provide a point of comparison for a source of reflection on their own accustomed ways of working in their own immediate settings'*.

The factor of collaboration, and the experience that teachers gain through it, becomes crucial when an innovation is being implemented in education. The study therefore tries to explore how teachers in Ghana collaborate, or otherwise, in their work and in their attempt to implement the FCUBE reform.

3.3.1.3: Influence of the School Head

The head of the school occupies the key role for innovation in the school – given that innovation usually has school-wide implications. Whilst the teacher enjoys some degree of classroom autonomy, the school head must contrive to gain acceptance of an innovation if it is to be institutionalized. Improvement in teaching and learning places new demands on the head teacher that go beyond the traditional roles of administrator and the new demands of instructional leadership (Verspoor, 2003). Verspoor stresses particularly the importance of the emerging transformational role where the head teacher leads and coordinates the efforts of teachers and community stakeholders to improve teaching and learning processes, and develops the capacity of the school community to implement change and

enhance the school's effectiveness. The personality and administrative style of the school head are seen to be key factors influencing the degree to which the head teacher will succeed as an innovator. *'If the head is dictatorial and traditional, all our attempts to change will be doomed to failure'* (Claxton, 1989:146).

Claxton (1989) refers to heads as people who also need support, in order to be able to get involved and participate in the change process. He argues that they are probably experiencing as much doubt and uncertainty as their teachers. He emphasizes the need for the head teacher, as an administrator, to listen to his or her teachers and give them opportunities to share their experiences with him or her. As a conclusion, one might argue that the school head could have a catalytic role in the change process, if he or she is supportive and positive, promoting real change on the teachers' side; this is an issue that is explored through the questionnaire survey and interviews with teachers in this study.

3.3.1.4: Influence of the School Inspector

Some researchers have inferred that the relationship between teachers and administrators could be the cause of problems in the innovation process. Administrators are seen as promoting change from a system perspective while teachers want only minor adaptations within their own individual classrooms (House, 1974). Wolcott (1973) argues that cultural differences are very strong between technocratic administrators and teachers. The philosophy of the innovation is, therefore, looked at in a different way by the two different worlds. The experience they both have of the innovation might be different. It thus seems that another key person in the innovation procedure, together with the school head, is the Inspector. It is of importance in this regard to see how teachers, in the context of the FCUBE implementation process, view the roles of their head teachers and circuit supervisors as leaders in the education system.

3.3.2: Personal factors and the Teacher's Involvement in Educational Innovation and Change

Some authors highlight the personal level of an innovation, focusing on its psychological aspect from the teachers' point of view. Bennett (1980) refers to the adoption of change as the psychological acceptance of the innovation by the target group. He believes that it is through a personal psychological interaction with all aspects of the innovative environment that teachers' attitudes to curriculum innovation develop. As part of this interaction the teacher passes through anxiety and uncertainty especially in the early stages of the implementation of the innovation.

What teachers learn and how they learn are related to a larger category of explanations that centres on individual knowledge, beliefs, and experiences (Elbaz, 1983). However, from the American literature reviewed, in addition to knowledge, beliefs and experiences, individual factors include dispositions (Zeichner, 1986), willingness to take risks (Meadows, 1990), personal and professional relationships (Little, 1982; Little & McLaughlin, 1993), personal history or narrative (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Goodson, 1992), and capacity and will (Berman & McLaughlin, 1975; McDonnell & Elmore, 1987). Richardson (1990) argues that such factors typically get short shrift in the implementation literature, but that stance may be changing. For example, Hargreaves (1994a:11) observes that teachers' responses to reforms refer '*not just to their capacity to change but also to their desires for change (and indeed for stability)*'.

3.3.2.1: Teachers' Beliefs, Knowledge, Concerns, Expectations and Practices

It appears that for change to occur, information must build on teachers' existing knowledge, beliefs, and practice, and the teachers must see the value of the information. This mirrors the current popularity of constructivist learning theory, which emphasizes the personal, individual meaning that everyone must create for themselves as they come to learn and to use new knowledge. Many writers have endorsed this view. Fullan (1993b) argues that educational change and

improvement depends on what teachers think and do while Hargreaves (1992:219) adds that innovation and change *'depends on what teachers think, say and do'*.

Educational change has been identified as one of the major sources of stress for teachers. When innovation occurs, there are typical concerns that all interested and involved people feel and express. It has already been strongly argued that principals and other facilitators can be more effective and change can be more successful if the concerns of teachers are considered because it must be useful to listen and take into account the 'front line' user's view. Hargreaves (1992) suggests that, *'... teaching strategies arise not just from the demands and constraints of the immediate context, but also from cultures of teaching; from beliefs, habits, and assumed ways of doing things among communities of teachers'* (1992:217).

Commenting on the identification of the teacher's attitude, general feelings and beliefs in helping an innovation procedure, Stein and Wang (1988:175) point out that, *'since individuals' values are partly determined by the values of the culture in which they live, teacher perceptions of community and school district values and goals are also hypothesized to influence the value that teachers place on given innovative programs/practice'*. Hargreaves, (1992) corroborating Stein and Wang (1988) argues that teacher cultures get involved in the implementation of change when they have a key role in it. That the content of teacher cultures consists of *'... attitudes, values, beliefs, habits, assumptions and ways of doing things that are started within a particular teacher group, or among the wider teacher community'* (Hargreaves, 1992:219). Similarly, Nias et al (1992) support the idea that each school depending on its staff, develops its own culture. Dalton (1994) also supports the idea that the 'culture' or 'ethos' of the school plays a key role in any change in classroom practice (see also Nias et al 1992).

From the discussion above, it appears that the personal factors that are associated with the teachers' involvement in any innovative setting are crucial and must

always be taken into account in order to promote successful implementation of the change practice. How all this relates to teachers understanding of the reforms and their perspectives of mechanisms of support in the FCUBE case are examined in chapters five and six.

3.4: EVIDENCE FROM EDUCATIONAL REFORMS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: This section reviews some educational reform programmes in developing countries, and reports on empirical evidence from teachers perspectives in the field.

A review of experiences with education reform programmes by international assistance organisations such as the World Bank, UNESCO and others, suggests that the gap between proposed reforms and the ability to implement them in developing countries is widening. The projects financed by these organisations appear to be supporting increasingly ambitious education innovations. For example, Middleton's (1986) review of seventeen education projects of the World Bank, suggested that a high degree of innovation and uncertainty in government education policies increased the complexity of projects and their management requirements. Equally, Verspoor's (1988) analysis of twenty-one of the World Bank's projects, found that successful implementation depended on designing a programme that introduced innovations at a rate appropriate for environmental conditions and on supporting them with effective organisation development programmes and training. Verspoor's (2003:6) further analysis of 22 country case studies and over thirty supporting documents on improving the quality of education in Sub-Saharan Africa, concluded that, *'the assumption that change is an orderly, rational and linear process that provides centrally defined fixes to the quality problems of schools is one that has been found to be false in almost every instance. In fact, there is an emerging consensus that change is essentially a local process with the school as the unit of change; that local learning and adaptation is key; and that developing local capacity – at the school, the community and the district level – is a condition sine quo non for success.'*

Havelock and Huberman (1977) also conclude from their review of nineteen United Nations projects that considerable time, energy, and resources were wasted during implementation dealing with problems that resulted from superficial analysis. They attest to the fact that most of the large-scale educational reforms sponsored by the United Nations run into serious implementation problems such as management of the innovation, problems arising from personalities and behaviour of those involved in project implementation, inadequate resources and organisational capacities, financial problems and opposition from key groups in society to the proposed reforms.

In a very comprehensive and detailed analysis of three countries in Africa (Burkina Faso, Ghana & Mozambique), Buchert (2002:83) shows how all three countries adhere to the concepts of partnership, local ownership and support for sector-wide approaches to educational issues. She however points out that there can be no blueprint for all contexts concluding that *'the level of rhetoric concerning mutual respect, transparency and genuine partnerships cannot eliminate underlying differences and structural relationships between aid providers and aid recipients.'*

In a democratic educational system where the relationship between all collaborative participants is expected to be symmetrical and of an egalitarian nature (Harber, 2002), the hierarchical nature of the education service in Ghana for example, makes the realisation of this characteristic difficult. *'Teachers are used to being directed ... (and) are very slow in actively contributing to planning and as a result, some action researchers tend to tell the teachers what to do'* (Ackumey & Stephens; 1996: 3)

These reviews demonstrate clearly that education reforms must be designed so that management strategies are appropriate to the degree of uncertainty in the environment, to the level of resources (including time) available to the front-line implementers, and to the degree of innovation called for in the projects. Therefore

innovative tasks that are carried out in rapidly changing environments such as experienced in developing countries - and Ghana is no exception - must be managed differently than routine tasks in stable environments. It should be emphasised that innovations that are too rapid tend to be bad since sufficient care is not given to relevant project detail.

Tisher and Wideen (1990:255), reflecting on concerns they saw as being negative aspects of much current teacher education practice in both developed and developing countries, attest to the fact that, there is:

'... a lack of balance between theory and practice: teacher educators do not always practice what they preach; in-service education is often unrelated to school issues and inefficiently carried out; pre-service programs do not always produce effective teachers; the socializing effects of schools militate against what is done in college pre-service training courses; trainees emerge from programs with negative attitudes to pupils; practice-teaching supervisors have no clear idea as to their role; and practice teaching is less effective than we generally believe. National and local governments provide inadequate finances for teacher education, hinder the process, have no clear commitment to in-service education, attempt to interfere with the content of training programs and jettison criteria for teacher certification in order to meet shortfalls in teacher recruitment' (p.255).

In more recent studies in developing countries on the policy and practice interface in pre-service teacher education, Ratnavadival (1999) reported that classroom realities overrode the new tenets of progressive teacher education in Malaysia. Student teachers defined teaching in ways that privileged the imparting of knowledge and completing the lesson plan rather than in ways that focused on student learning. Similarly, Dyer (1996) reporting on the 'Operation Blackboard' innovation in Indian primary schools asserts that the low level of teachers' professional skills and their exclusion from decision-making led to its failure. She pointed out that policy was insufficiently sensitive to the different contexts in

which it was to be carried out, and some contexts were simply not receptive to the child-centred practices outlined in policy.

In their discussion of teacher education in India, Dyer and Choksi (2002) similarly argue for the need to craft new approaches to teacher education, focussing on the '*democratising opportunities*' offered by a research-based collaborative approach to teacher development. While Schweisfurth (2002) reports on work with a teacher education college, Dyer and Choksi describe work with the District Institute of Education and Training. Both begin from a critique of existing teacher training as not able to put together theory and practice in a coherent way, meaning that teachers emerge neither as reflective practitioners nor as fully competent professionals.

Schools and classrooms in Zimbabwe have traditionally been organised on an authoritarian basis (Nagel, 1992). Tabulawa (1997:201) equally attributes the failure of reform in Botswana to its oversight of historically entrenched authoritarianism on the part of teachers. The new learner-centred pedagogy, he contends, threatened teachers' taken-for-granted classroom worlds. Teachers are found to define teaching as a process of imparting school knowledge and making sure there was sufficient classroom order to make this possible. In a similar vein, students' descriptions of their roles '*were consistent with their understanding of learning as a process of receiving the teachers' knowledge*'. In this direction, policy expectation of the learner-centred approach and classroom reality are poles apart.

Supporting the views of Tabulawa (1997), Harber (2002) stresses that schools in Africa have traditionally tended to promote authoritarian values and practices. They have not encouraged participation, debate, responsibility and critical enquiry and have preferred instead to use chalk and talk, rote memorisation and corporal punishment to reinforce teacher-centred discipline.

Added to the literature is the point made by Enslin and Pendlebury (1998:262), writing on the '*transformation education in South Africa*' that,

'... formal changes cannot guarantee better practice, and where the policy makers take little account of the context and agents of implementation, policy may impede rather than enable transformation'. This finding corroborates that of Dalin et al's (1994) study on '*How Schools Improve*' when they asserted that '*educational reform is a local issue*' and that '*effective system linkages are essential*' (Dalin et al, 1994:xviii).

Dalin et al's (1994) review of the international reform literature undertaken in three different countries, (i.e. Columbia, Ethiopia, and Bangladesh) reported that although approaches to educational reforms vary from one country to another, successful reforms have distinctive features in common. They summarized their findings that the essential principles for successful educational reform include:

i. A national operational commitment to quality improvement that is well planned – and evolving – as experiences from the field provide learning opportunities for regional and central planners. A national effort that is made concrete through systematic management and a professional support structure, and an effort that is sustained over at least ten years.

ii. A strong local capacity with a strong emphasis on school and classroom practice. This means that local empowerment, room to manage local implementation, latitude for adopting the programme to be maximally effective locally, assistance that enables teacher mastery to develop, and the encouragement to develop local materials.

iii A coherent linkage system between central, district and local levels via information, assistance, pressure and rewards. The various means of

communication in the system must reflect engagement and commitment between levels, and bureaucratic, rule-driven control (Dalin et al, 1994: xi).

Their study demonstrates that reform strategies do matter, and that simplistic and 'quick fix' solutions do not work. It also demonstrates that national programmes may succeed with very different starting points, i.e, with a local innovation (Columbia), with a national political initiative (Ethiopia), or with an external donor-driven, large scale, modestly innovative programme (Bangladesh). They concluded their argument by stating that, *'It is not a 'bottom-up' versus 'top-down', it is a question of meeting the three principles of reform as stated above – in whatever mix that works in a given national context'* (Dalin et al, 1994: xii).

A project, dubbed *Teacher Development: Making an Impact*, (Craig et al, 1998) looked at approximately 40 different teacher education projects in developing countries and cited what they saw as exemplary practices that characterized the best in teacher education, citing two key case studies: the Escuela Nueva Unitaria in Guatemala, which placed practising teachers at the centre of textbook writing and teacher education, with a focus on student and teacher empowerment; and a USAID funded Primary Education Improvement Project in Botswana. The success factors included: collaboration, sustainability, ownership, flexibility, advisors committed in long-term, system-wide articulation, the skills of the teacher educators, adequate time ... (Craig et al, 1998). Kunje and Stuart (1999) in their investigations regarding support for trained teachers in Malawi found that, despite all the resource constraints a large majority of Malawian primary school teachers are willing and able to reflect on their practice when given encouragement and support to do so.

Similarly, investigating local autonomy and educational change in Teachers' Resource Centres (TRCs) in Southern Africa (Mozambique, Zambia & Zimbabwe), Hoopers (1998) found that many teachers, heads, education officers, and parents have been quite capable of taking on a leadership role in educational

reform at local level when the circumstances permitted them to do so, and when there was a political and ideological climate that at least in principle supported administrative measures to create space for such roles. Clearly, the lack of resources and poor professional competencies did not prevent local educators from using this space and taking greater responsibility for education development. The conclusion is that for TRCs to be effective in facilitating a more integrative approach to educational change some measures of devolution in pedagogical decision-making towards stakeholders would need to be put in place. As an illustration, peer coaching, for example, has been found (Thijs & van den Berg, 2002) to be working well among science teachers in Botswana.

The findings of Craig et al (1998) and Hoopers (1998) not only point to the importance of leadership but help to define the leadership characteristics which appear critical. These include: support for teachers; shared vision and goals; participative decision-making, collegiality and collaboration; a focus on school-based staff development.

Harley et al (2000:289) quoting De Clercq (1997:129) and commenting that, *'the evaluation of many World Bank policies has revealed a great discrepancy between their policies and what happens on the ground, especially in Africa'* adds his voice to those of Dalin et al (1994) and Enslin and Pendlebury (1998). Jessop and Penny (1998) also concluded that the failure of education reform initiatives in rural schools in South Africa and Gambia is attributed to the embedded centralised nature of education policy and change initiatives which were technically and expert-driven. In South Africa, for example, policy directed at change has been firmly located at the centre, in the hands of national and international scholars and policy-makers. In the Gambia this has been no less so, and the distance of policy-making from the realities of life in the classrooms is as great.

Verspoor's (2003) recent analysis on quality of basic education in sub-Saharan Africa, however, support the view that there are several promising experiences (Uganda, Tanzania, Guinea) which suggest that a persistent effort at building capacity for planning and experimentation at the school level can help to create an environment highly conducive to quality improvement. He cites instances of success stories where teachers are being encouraged to adapt reforms and innovations to local conditions and their pupils learning needs (Uganda & Tanzania), support for school projects developed at school level (Guinea, Madagascar, Senegal) or through subsidies to community owned and operated schools (Chad).

In fact, it is possible to discern a number of converging themes about what successful educational reforms in developing countries may require and these provide useful yardsticks, alongside the findings of Dalin et al (1994), Verspoor (2003) and all the other authors outlined above. The lack of teacher voice in decision-making is an important factor that has been re-emphasised time and again by most of the authors in this review; hence, how can the existing institutions change to become more sensitive to the needs of teachers?

A number of lessons might also be gleaned from this experience which reinforce messages from the literature on educational change and on cross-cultural projects: the importance of establishing that the proposed outcomes of the project are desired by the target group; the need to work flexibly to accommodate participants' needs and capacities, and to provide the possibility of ownership, even where practical constraints make planning everything together difficult; the effect of evaluating impact over time and in the working context; and the significance of unintended outcomes, both positive and negative, when individuals respond to new demands. These may seem to be common sense, but the literature is full of examples of situations where they have been ignored (e.g. Lacey & Jacklin, 2001; Obanya, 1999). The West should accept that Africa has its own dreams that do not infringe basic principles.

Ghana has of course also been the site of imaginative experiments and innovations in the content and forms of education and critical reflections on educational change (Buchert, 2002; Mettle-Nunoo & Hilditch, 2000; Scadding, 1989; Yeboah, 1990). We see here international convergence at several levels. Increasingly, the specification of education quality is presumed to be universal rather than nationally or culturally or situationally specific. As we consider here the shared patterns across Ghana we must at the same time constantly recall and respect Ghana's rich diversity and consider carefully the contextual conditions for each general comment. It is in the context of persisting poverty, aid dependence, increasing debt, and powerful pressures from within and without to adopt a particular understanding of development that Ghanaian governments have been inclined to emphasise accumulation of reforms over legitimisation of policy and change.

The preparation, implementation and ongoing review of educational policy documentation to support the introduction of the revised curriculum proposed by the FCUBE raise issues of planning, teaching, learning and assessment frameworks to ensure the adequate coverage of the requirements of the programme.

Literature that is available on teachers' experiences of policy change in the Ghanaian context relates mostly to teacher deployment (Konadu, 1994), teacher motivation and retention (Bame, 1991), gender and primary schooling (Avotri et al, 1999), continuous assessment (Akyeampong, 1997), posting of newly trained teachers (Hedges, 2000), costs and financing of teacher education (Akyeampong et al, 2001), identity of student teachers (Akyeampong & Stephens, 2000), becoming a teacher (Akyeampong & Lewin, 2002) and a few others.

Teacher education in Ghana is widely perceived to be failing, and, as the World Bank review (World Bank, 1996) and Lewin (2002a; 2002b) put it, '*costly and inappropriate*'. Attempts at reform to shift the emphasis away from overly

academic study to more pedagogic content knowledge (Antwi, 1991a; Awuku, 1998) and more experience of the school environment during pre-training and in-service training of teachers, (Akyeampong, 1997), have made little progress from discussion documents and policy formulations. There is increasingly little attempt to put the teacher at the heart of the reforms, though given the nature of the context in many Ghanaian schools that is perhaps not surprising.

Although the above literature review offers a rich insight into some of the processes taking place in teacher education and training programmes in Ghana, it would be interesting to explore the experiences of serving teachers with regard to their views of their situation and the implementation of the FCUBE reform. Like education itself, the analysis of education in Ghana requires attention to both content and form, and especially to context and process.

3.5: SUMMARY OF CHAPTER:

This chapter has reviewed relevant literature relating to educational reform and change vis a vis policy and practice with regard to educational reform programmes in both developing and developed countries. The literature notes that teachers' involvement in innovative efforts or change is not an easy task as there are several internal and external factors or forces that impinge on educational reforms worldwide.

Centrally in this study I am arguing that, the 'teacher-as-person' needs to inform policy-making and teacher development if education change is to be sustained. The difficulty, of course, is that teachers are a heterogeneous group of professionals, and there is likely to be significant divergence of understanding among them. Clearly, the implications of teacher ownership as a principle are that most of the change process needs to be located in, devolved to, and steered through the school and local community. Teachers are, nevertheless, considered the most important factor for the successful implementation of educational reforms.

3.6: ANY LESSONS TO BE LEARNED?: It is crucial to emphasise that the greater proportion of the literature reviewed in this chapter reflects experiences in developed countries settings. While a great deal can be learned from this body of work, and has been learned, care needs to be exercised in transferring such lessons to the institutional settings of education in developing countries. The questions that remain to be asked are, if we know so much about the change process why don't people use this knowledge? What lessons can be learned from the literature reviewed that might enable reformers and teachers alike to implement the FCUBE programme more effectively than is currently practiced in Navrongo district?

Innovations are inherently value-laden since they take place in a socio-cultural context. Without first making an analysis of the context in which an innovation (especially one embodying foreign ideas) is to be introduced, the results of its adoption will largely be inconclusive. The corollary of this is that technical solutions (e.g. in-service programmes) to problems of pedagogical innovations that are not grounded in an understanding of the role of the socio-cultural context as a potential facilitator, or obstacle to innovation adoption may not yield the desired effects due to incompatibility with the local context.

For innovations or reforms to be accepted by the host educational environment they must be congruent with the central values obtaining in that environment. Failure to comply may lead to them being rejected. The over-riding recommendation is that all aspects of education should be research-based. It is therefore imperative that all educational programmes should be based on indigenous research and continuous evaluation to ensure that the programmes are as effective as possible in their own contexts and with their own clientele.

New knowledge comes about as we attempt to correct for the deficiencies of what we already know. New ideas for change of practice are seldom if ever fully adopted and developed to fit and function in the contexts for which they are

proposed when they first emerge. The greatest proportion of the available literature reflects experience in the western industrialised settings. The translation from pilot projects to large-scale national adoption is often made without the provision of necessary resources to go to scale, such as teachers and their need for professional support, textbooks, and physical resources.

Change should be sought for the sake of the benefits that may accrue. Innovations invariably require development and adaptation to fit them to their contexts of use. Traditional practices have considerable value that need to be tapped into. There is the need for close monitoring of projects, analysis of participant responses, and swift and flexible corrective actions to help participants overcome unforeseeable disincentives and difficulties.

So much of the literature seems to oversimplify and redress the complexity of human response to new ideas. Time after time, teachers who persist in making up their own minds about new ideas, and who frequently make more sensible choices than the 'experts' confound the reductionism of these theories in practice.

This chapter addressed the relevant literature to educational change and innovation and more specifically reviewed a number of educational policy issues in both developed and developing country settings. The chapter concludes that for change or innovation to work, there is the need for a better understanding of how local agents and stakeholders of educational reforms encounter contextual forces.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

4.0:INTRODUCTION: The research was conducted over a total period of 8 months. In addition, a four-week follow-up visit to the field was carried out in 2003 (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1: Time Schedule for Research

Period	Activities
April – September 2000	Pilot of Questionnaire Questionnaire Study
March – April 2001	Pilot of Interview Interview Study
January – February 2003	Follow-up Interview Study

Prior to this study, a team of Ministry of Education officials who toured Navrongo district in February 2000 presented an initial report on the primary education system in the district and concluded that there was a need for a proper revision of teaching practices in schools in the district (GES/DFID, 2000). However, not much research has been done in this area to provide empirical data to support their claims. It is also the case that no research, either on a small scale or of a similar kind, has ever been undertaken in Navrongo district regarding the implementation of the FCUBE programme. It is therefore important to study teachers' responses to the implementation process in the context of the continuing difficulty in achieving the government's objective of improving the quality of teaching and learning as outlined in the various reform policy documents (MOE, 1987; 1996; Government of Ghana, 1995). Most research on educational issues in Ghana is concentrated within the Southern part of the country and consists of joint ventures between university staff and donor partners. The current study, with a focus on '*thick description*' (Stenhouse, 1985), adds to the limited existing educational research literature in Ghana by exploring schools in mainly rural and disadvantaged settings that are quite distant from the capital (where activities seem to concentrate). The aim of the research is to investigate teachers' views about their professional situation and in particular the FCUBE reform and their responses to

the process of implementation of the FCUBE policy. Thus, teachers' *'subjective worlds'* (Fullan, 1982) are explored to uncover the multiple realities of the different actors in the implementation of the programme. The study addressed the following main research question:

What are the views of primary teachers in disadvantaged schools in a district in Ghana on their professional situation, and how do they understand and view the FCUBE reform?

This has been broken down to the following sub-questions:

Q 1: What are the conditions of teaching in poorly resourced and disadvantaged schools in Navrongo district and how are these viewed by primary teachers?

Q2: What are the current understandings of primary teachers in Navrongo district regarding the FCUBE reform?

Q3: How have primary teachers in Navrongo district been supported in their situation following the reform and what are their views of this support?

Q4: How could primary teachers in Navrongo district be encouraged to become more involved in implementing the FCUBE reforms?

The research began with two scheduled meetings with the Navrongo District Director of Education and his team of five Circuit Supervisors. At these meetings the purpose of the research was elaborated and relationships established between the district education staff and myself. This meeting also allowed for a preliminary list to be drawn up of schools that matched the selection criteria for the purpose of the research.

4.1: SELECTION OF THE DISTRICT FOR THE RESEARCH

The potential scope of the study was very large and it was essential to bind it, not least geographically. This I did mainly by siting the research in a single district, Navrongo. Navrongo district is one of the 110 Educational Districts in Ghana situated in the Upper East Region, and lying about 880 kilometers north east of the capital, Accra (see Appendices 5 & 6). Navrongo is divided into five circuit zones with each zone comprising at least 10 primary schools under the supervision of circuit supervisors appointed by the Ghana Education Service (GES) and answerable to the District Director of Education who is responsible for educational issues in the district. Navrongo district has 66 primary schools served by 468 teachers. It was not the aim of this study to determine whether the district is typical or representative of the Upper East Region in which the district is located or of Ghana as a whole, but to explore in depth the views of primary teachers in a sample of schools defined as disadvantaged.

As an agricultural area, Navrongo district is mainly rural. It is also fiscally poor, and classified by the Ghana National Statistical Board as being among the poorest in the country. The district relies on the nation for its source of funding. Often, there are insufficient funds for textbooks and other ordinary classroom supplies. It is common to find one reader or working book shared by two or three pupils in a class.

Why Navrongo District? The measures of education quality most commonly used in Ghana, past and present, emphasise academic achievement and information acquisition and rely heavily on examination scores and degrees, certificates and other credentials. These test scores, however, place the rural areas near the bottom on national rankings in numeracy, literacy and problem solving. The low levels of achievement generally reflect the limited expectations of teachers, pupils and parents. It is also worthy of note that the instruments used for these CRTs do not cater for the experiences and context of pupils in disadvantaged schools. The low pupil performance in these CRTs leaves teachers demoralised and wondering if

their work is ever going to be appreciated by the authorities in the Ministry of Education, bearing in mind the hard effort they put into their teaching in these relatively poorly resourced and disadvantaged areas.

The district was chosen because it is the district in which I was born, raised and educated for the first ten years of basic education long before the introduction of the FCUBE reform. As a pupil in basic school then, I remember the kind of teaching and learning that characterised schools in that era and discovered that people believed pupils achieved good passes at the national examinations because teachers were good and measured up to the task of teaching. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, however, most schools in the district, especially those poorly resourced and disadvantaged (e.g. in the rural, village and some town schools), began to record drops in their pupils' performances. The public has attributed this drop in pupils' performance to teachers' inefficiency in the district. Being familiar with the social, political, economic and the educational context of the district and its disadvantaged schools, my interest was aroused to explore how teachers viewed the recent changes in the education system with the introduction of the FCUBE reform, and how the reform impacted on their teaching and the role they see themselves to be playing in its implementation. Familiarity with the district made it easier for me, both in practical and financial terms, to gain access to the district for my research since I was familiar and well-known.

4.2:GENERAL METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

The methodology for this study is both quantitative and qualitative. The call for the use of multiple methodologies to enhance educational research and theory development is not new (Brannen, 1992; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Flick, 1998; Gage, 1989; Rizo, 1991; Robson, 2002; Salomon, 1991). The potential of combining quantitative and qualitative research is described by Brewer and Hunter (1989:17), as:

'A diversity of imperfection that allows us to combine methods not only to gain their individual strengths but also to compensate for their particular faults and limitations. The multi-method approach is largely built upon this insight. Its fundamental strategy is to attack a research problem with an arsenal of methods that have non-overlapping weakness in addition to their complementary strengths.'

Writing about research in developing countries, various authors (Crossley & Vulliamy, 1997; Crossley & Watson, 2003; Huberman, 1977; McGinn & Borden, 1995; Vulliamy et al, 1990) have also argued that the main strength of qualitative research in education is its high ecological validity derived from research in natural settings; its appropriateness for the study of the process of educational innovations, especially focusing on the unanticipated consequences of change; its emphasis upon the chalk face realities of schooling with studies in classroom processes and teachers' and students' perspectives; its ability to probe the policy and practice interface and thus inform policy makers; and its usefulness in supplementing quantitative research by adding depth to breadth.

In this study, a range of methods was employed to collect data which, when 'pieced together' might suggest answers to the research questions. However, the main approach has been qualitative and therefore small in scale in order to build up an in-depth picture of primary teachers in Navrongo district.

Rationale for the methods chosen: The questionnaire study provided mainly quantitative data which I hoped would enable me to create a profile of the teachers in the sample of schools in Navrongo district and to explore different characteristics of the teachers and their views on their work and the reforms. In addition to the quantitative data there were some open-ended questions that enabled me to collect more qualitative data. The interview study enabled me to delve in greater depth into the complexities and processes that characterise the work of the teachers and in particular their understanding and views of the

FCUBE reforms. This qualitative methodology therefore allowed me to tease out the participants' views that might have remained unarticulated without my direct interaction with the participants and the context in which they worked. The questionnaires and interviews were supplemented by analysis of relevant documents in order to understand the context and my own field notes.

4.3: THE CASE STUDY METHOD

According to Denzin (1989:185), '*A case refers both to an event or happening and to the actions and experiences of a person or a collectivity.*' The case, according to Goode and Hatt (1952) is not a technique, but a way of organizing social data. Yin (1989; 1994) specifies six sources of evidence for case studies: documentation, archival records, interviews, (whether open-ended or focused), direct observation, participant observation, and physical artefacts. He also stresses the importance of the use of more than one source of evidence.

The 'case' in this study is the Free and Compulsory Universal Basic Education Programme (FCUBE) as applied in Navrongo District, which is an innovation in the Ghanaian education system. My use of the case study in Navrongo district guided my exploration as to what may be new and unique to teachers in the district, and what is perhaps anticipated to be universal in the system-wide reform programme in Ghana. The in-depth interviews allowed for the portrayal of teachers' responses to the FCUBE reform as a particular case, since they readily related aspects of their own experiences to the realities of their specific classrooms.

To help in the understanding of the current situation in Navrongo District with regard to teachers' work in relation to the FCUBE policy framework of improving teaching and learning, a three-level strategy of questionnaire, interviews, and documentary analysis was employed in order to help build triangulation into the study.

4.4: THE RESEARCH DESIGN: I decided on a two-stage study, using a small questionnaire survey followed by an in-depth interview study in order to answer the research questions. A set of follow-up interviews was conducted at a later stage and the empirical data were complemented by analysis of relevant documents and my field notes. I was interested in the subjective experiences of teachers and their views both of their professional situation and the reforms, which would suggest a qualitative study, and wished also to collect some quantitative data in order to build a profile of the teachers and their different views.

Sampling and selection of schools: For the questionnaire survey I selected a sample of 25 primary schools in the district (i.e. about 38% of the 66 primary schools in the district). This sample consisted of 10 rural, 12 village and 3 schools located in the town which are as poorly resourced and disadvantaged as the rural and village schools (see 4.6). The choice of schools for the questionnaire study was made for a mixture of pragmatic and research-related reasons. I was particularly interested in schools that were considered to be disadvantaged. The selection of schools was therefore made on the basis of finding schools that in the opinion of the District Directorate had made little progress in their pupils' performance at the CRTs since the inception of the reform and in which teachers were willing to participate in the study. This was done by using the socio-economic and demographic conditions of schools spread across the five circuit areas of the district. This approach was adopted in direct negotiation with the District Director of Education.

25 schools were selected since in Ghana administration of questionnaires tends to require personal visits due to the inadequacy of postal services in rural and village areas of the district and the fact that teachers appear unwilling to complete questionnaires unless they are requested face to face. This meant that in order to ensure a good return rate I had to be physically present to hand out the questionnaire and to help to explain if teachers needed to know more about the

research. These facts hindered me from selecting a larger sample of schools for the questionnaire survey.

The Questionnaire Survey: The questionnaire survey had three purposes as follows:

- 1) To collect information about the teachers such as their demographic characteristics, their organisational contexts and their in-service and professional development activities;
- 2) To gather information about teachers' perspectives on and attitudes to the FCUBE reform and its implementation and to map out general patterns of their views; and
- 3) To facilitate a description of teachers' concerns and constraints with the implementation process of the FCUBE reform as an indication of their level of innovation adoption.

I aimed to provide information to address all four research questions through the questionnaires since the quantitative data were used both to frame the study and to add scope and breadth to the research before in-depth interviews were carried out with a selected sample of teachers from the initial cohort of the survey.

Design of questionnaires: The questionnaire (Appendix 1) was devised to facilitate completion and at the same time elicit a wide range of information. It sought to gather information about teachers and their opinions about the reforms proposed by the MOE, the kind of training required for implementing the reforms, and the possible consequences of evolving a policy to encourage the wider use of teacher expertise in the primary school. The questions were devised following discussions with teachers in other parts of the district prior to the research, and from experience of previous piloting of the questionnaire. The questionnaire

covered the following areas: general information about the schools in which the teachers worked; professional practices; views on the FCUBE reforms; in-service and professional development activities; biographical data.

To enable teachers to express their opinions, ideas, views, and feelings on issues concerned in a natural setting (Cohen et al, 2000), a number of statements were constructed on a Likert-type scale; these were framed to conform with Anderson's (1988:427) assertion that, '*Likert scales consist of a series of statements, all of which are related to a person's attitude towards a single object.*' Most of the questions were closed, with each question having a set of alternatives from which to choose by ticking the appropriate response. A small number of open-ended questions about the teachers' work and responsibility were included to enable teachers to respond at some length in their own words. After collecting the questionnaire responses, an initial content analysis was carried out to identify themes to inform the in-depth interviews to be carried out with a sub-sample of the initial cohort of teachers who had completed questionnaires.

Piloting the questionnaire

Before the questionnaire was finalised, a pilot version was used with five teachers in the district, who were asked to complete a draft questionnaire; I then discussed this with them. The questionnaire was changed in the light of their comments and is presented in Appendix 1.

Conduct of the questionnaires: A plan for administering the questionnaire and conducting a final round of site visits was negotiated with the District Director and Circuit Supervisors. I attached a letter to the questionnaire addressed to the 70 teachers of primary 4-6 in the 25 schools explaining the nature of the research and requesting them to respond (Appendix 1). I handed the questionnaire with the letter directly to the respondents, since it is only through that approach that a good number of responses from the teachers could be reached.

The Interviews: The purpose of using the in-depth interview was to capture the teachers' views or perspectives and to understand the meanings they attach to their experiences. To answer the questions concerning teachers' views on the FCUBE reforms, I needed to capture the lived experiences of the participants through in-depth interviews, discussions, and some informal conversations. The interview study was therefore designed to obtain more detailed and in-depth responses about some of the areas covered in the questionnaire survey and in addition:

- ◆ To gather further background information on the teacher and the school;
- ◆ To consider the orientation of the teacher towards the educational reform and how the teacher is supported in its implementation; and
- ◆ To identify the specific reform activities that teachers needed to be discussed that could be adopted to improve upon teaching and learning in schools.

The in-depth interviews were also designed to allow unexpected issues to emerge and to explore issues unsuitable for data gathering by questionnaires.

Design of interview schedule: A semi-structured interview schedule was designed based on the research questions and drawing on information and themes identified from the questionnaires. The schedule acted as an aide-memoire for me that permitted flexibility of the wording of the questions during the interview as well as the opportunity to probe further or ask for clarification of a response. While ensuring that the data collection was systematic across responses to facilitate comparison, the interview schedule nevertheless allowed the tone of the interview to remain conversational and situational within a limited time frame. The interviews lasted between one hour and an hour and a half.

The interview schedule developed some of the themes that emerged from the first phase of the research (the questionnaire survey), and remained as open as possible so that unforeseen issues could be developed. It was also my aim to be open and sensitive to opinions and perspectives offered by the teachers in order to capture in-depth some of the issues that were concerning them in relation to their professional work and to the implementation of the FCUBE reforms.

Interview Schedule: The interview schedule (Appendix 2) comprised seven sections as follows:

- i) General background questions
- ii) Views of FCUBE reform programme;
- iii) In-service training;
- iv) Organisational support (District and School level);
- v) Collaboration;
- vi) General feelings about self; and
- vii) General policy issues.

Piloting the Interview: Three teachers were randomly selected from rural, village and disadvantaged town schools for the pilot study in an attempt to match the anticipated characteristics of teachers in the main study (i.e. disadvantaged schools in rural, village and town sites and teaching in either class 4, 5 or 6). The purpose of the pilot was to test the viability and practicality of the interview schedule and to check that it would provide valid information to help me to answer the research questions.

Pilot teacher 'A', teaching class 4, was a teacher in a rural setting living with a predominantly subsistent farming community. Pilot teacher 'B', teaching class 5, was a teacher in a village school where most of the people within the community equally take to various farming activities. Pilot teacher 'C', who taught in class 6, was a teacher in a disadvantaged and poorly resourced school situated in the town where there are pupils of working class people with low incomes. These teachers

were interviewed using the draft interview schedule. I made notes at the time of the interviews regarding the degree of match between intentions behind the questions asked and the apparent interpretations by the teachers. The entire interview was timed in all cases. Following the pilot interviews, the overall interview process was discussed with the teachers and comments invited on the context and structure.

These pilot interviews led to minor changes in the interview schedule. The pilot study provided an opportunity to rehearse the interview and to test the viability and usefulness of the interview process. It also provided an opportunity to gain feedback from the teachers and to revise the schedule accordingly. Attention was also paid to ensuring the resulting interview would not take longer than an hour and a half.

Language of the interviews: I was faced with a choice between conducting the interviews in the local language of the research area (i.e. Kassim-Nankani, which I am familiar with), or in the English language. During the pilot phase of the interviews it emerged that both the interviewees and myself were found wanting when it came to the appropriate use of words and phrases in terms of how translatable or equivalent in meaning they were. Most teachers in both the rural and village schools were more fluent in their use of the local language, since they had more exposure and were in constant touch with the local communities in contrast to teachers in the town schools and me. It was therefore very common to see teachers in both the rural and village schools interjecting words and phrases in the local language with words and phrases in English in the interview situation. With all the anticipated problems of back translation and the possibility of not getting the appropriate resource persons to handle the data, coupled with the fact that teachers did not want their interviews tape recorded, I settled for the use of the English language. English was chosen to enable standardisation of responses especially with technical terms. This choice was also guided by the fact that all teachers interviewed during the research are trained teachers who have had an

acceptable level of spoken English in their daily dealings right from primary three when English becomes the official instructional language for teaching and learning at all levels of education in Ghana. The interview schedule also allowed for the tone of the interviews to remain conversational within a limited time frame.

Conduct of the Interviews: The interviews, conducted in the English language, were held either at the teachers' schools during the lunch break or at their homes in the evenings, whichever they felt was appropriate and convenient to them. As suggested in the standard procedure of research methods, *'it is best to avoid settings that may be perceived as unpleasant or threatening by respondents'* (Oppenheim, 1992:192). Some teachers felt comfortable talking at school whilst others did not.

Interviewees did not see the interview schedule beforehand even though they had all answered the questionnaire and so knew the broad topics to be covered. However, a week in advance of their interview, each interviewee was given a written outline of the focus of the research, and, at the interview, introduced to the research topic and my reasons for being interested in the topic. The introductory statement placed the interview in context and positioned me as the interviewer with respect to the educational reform process and the interviewee. The intention here was to indicate that this was, as far as possible in an interview situation, a discussion between fellow education professionals - 'a conversation with a purpose' though it was clear that my position as interviewer might create a power imbalance, as is almost always the possibility for research interviews. Using the semi-structured interview schedule, the same basic questions were asked with follow-up queries if the responses seemed to lead in a different, but pertinent direction.

I had to make sure that the context in which the interview took place did not place the interviewees and me in a situation in which I was seen as evaluating the former. It is particularly important in Ghana that interviewees are quite sure that

nothing they say will be reported to the school authorities and that in any descriptions of the research they will not be identified. Even though confidentiality and anonymity of respondents were assured, a request for the interview responses to be audiotape-recorded did not go down well with the participants, since they were still fearful that recorded material could be used in evidence and attributed to them some other time.

However, the cordial relationship and trust established between the interviewees and myself, coupled with the continued assurance of their anonymity and confidentiality, allowed me to take detailed hand written notes and to write down quotes verbatim immediately when this appeared appropriate. With negotiation and the prior permission of the respondents, I did appeal to them to try not to speak too fast but clearly to enable me to capture their responses without undue strain. My aim was to capture the responses verbatim and this usually proved possible. In some instances when I had missed out on some of what was said by the respondents, I had to ask them to repeat what they had said earlier so as to enable me to capture the statements verbatim. In one exceptional case, when I had realised the unease with which a respondent reacted to the interview session, I had to let the session continue but sought to recall and record statements (with the aid of mnemonics and using codes according to the 'anticipatory' themes) made by the said respondent within 10-15 minutes of the last interview session under the available shade of a tree before continuing my outward trip.

The flexibility of the semi-structured interview schedule was intended to allow, as far as possible, an informal and relaxed atmosphere. Thus, if the respondent spontaneously raised an issue in the earlier part of the interview that was to be covered later in the interview schedule, discussion was allowed to continue; the interview schedule ensured that all topics were covered within the interview. Even though the interviews were conducted in such a way as to encourage free expression, some teachers, as usual, proved more open to the task than others,

offering far more commentary than solicited; others seemed to have in their mind their own interview protocols despite attempts to keep them on task.

The transcribed individual interview scripts were given to the individual respondents to read and to share their thoughts on them with me through discussion at the end of April 2001. Additional information as well as their own interpretations and explanations were invited. This aimed at clarifying their responses and for additional explanations to be made when necessary.

The follow-up interview study: Following on the main study, a follow-up interview study was carried out in February 2003. In this follow-up study, semi-structured interviews were conducted with seven of the eight teachers (seven classroom teachers and a head teacher) who were previously interviewed in April 2001 to enable me to build individual portraits of the teachers based on their experiences of the implementation processes. It should be noted that one of the teachers who was initially interviewed during the first phase of the study in April 2001, was not available for the follow-up interviews conducted in February 2003 since he had moved out of the district. I therefore excluded him from the study and have not presented this interview. However, his exclusion did not influence the typology of responses as presented in chapter 6 since his earlier response mirrored that of the “sceptic” teacher. This follow-up study was intended to extend the first interview study and used the semi-structured interview schedule in Appendix 3. In addition, I interviewed a Circuit Supervisor at the District Education Office for the first time in February 2003 who has been monitoring teachers’ work in his circuit. The Circuit Supervisor has also taught for several years as a classroom teacher and has served as a head teacher before his appointment as a Circuit Supervisor. He has therefore experienced the implementation of the reform from the time of its inception to the time of the interview and continues to be involved with workshop training sessions in response to the implementation of the FCUBE reform.

To include a Circuit Supervisor and a head teacher in the interviews was important because it was thought crucial to attempt to include different perspectives even on

a small scale. The head teacher and Circuit Supervisor's interviews provided a very meaningful account of their views and helped to enrich the existing teacher data. The interview questions were intended to identify possible factors of implementation and to help in my understanding of ways in which the MOE practices affected teachers in the school environment.

4.5: THE STATUS OF THE INTERVIEWER: All the teachers interviewed were told that I was formerly a tutor in one of the initial teacher training colleges, but that I was presently involved in teacher education programmes that dealt with primary teachers and tutors of teacher training colleges with their professional development needs through the development of distance education courses of study in the University of Education in Winneba. As a teacher educator and researcher, I felt I might be seen to be in a position of evaluating the teacher's work. It was therefore made clear to them that my research was solely for my academic purposes since it was a basic requirement of my further studies programme, and therefore quite independent from the perspective that might be taken by a Ministry of Education expert. All interviewees were therefore assured of anonymity and confidentiality.

Whilst the information about the research and myself supplied to teachers was simple and uniform, it will have been differently interpreted. The focus of the interview on the educational reforms led some teachers to assume that I was an expert on the realisation of the educational reform tasks and quite reasonably sought advice on how to carry them out, whilst other teachers presumed that there was a critical distance between myself as a researcher and the practice required by the reform programme.

4.6 THE SAMPLE SCHOOLS

Overview of the characteristics of schools in the study

The Rural Areas: These areas are relatively disadvantaged areas remote from large urban influences and are economically under-privileged and located in dry

areas of low population density where the majority of the population are farmers. They are areas where basic education provision lags behind that in the coastal or urban areas of Ghana by many years. Schools are situated in remote areas well away from transport links and in most cases are only accessible on foot. A large number of incomplete primary schools built of mud are widely dispersed. There are reports of buildings leaking in the rainy season. Class sizes are uneven and mostly multi-grade. Average pupil enrolment figures for pupils between the ages of 6-10 are as low as 98 and the average attendance are as low as 55 – including those pupils who are above 10 years. Attendance in these schools is very discouraging. They are rarely visited, even by local officials, have fewer facilities and are neglected by most evaluation studies. Staffing of rural schools continues to present difficulties with many of the serving teachers often educated only to GCE 'O' level. There are serious problems of teacher absenteeism and lack of devotion and accountability. Fewer teachers are reported to reside in places of their posting where their schools are located. School inspections are reported to be conducted at least once in three months on the average and in most cases reduced to single day window dressing rather than any substantial corrective action that it was expected to initiate. Fewer schools have furniture (sometimes children sit on stones or their food bowls for instruction) blackboards, toilet facilities, drinking water or the provision of chalk. These basic facilities appear to be the poorest in the district overall. It was therefore important to gather insights into conditions in these schools though they could only be reached through arduous journeys often by motorbike and sometimes on foot. Ten of the schools in my study were rural schools; they ranged in size from 70 to 100 pupils.

The Village Areas: In the village schools in which the research was carried out, education is beyond the reach of many households. The increased level of poverty makes parents unable to feed their children properly and provide adequate health services. In these circumstances, children whose parents cannot afford the costs of instructional materials, school uniforms, and related charges, tend to go to school irregularly and, in the long run, drop out of school. Faced with limited resources,

and reduced returns from education, parents are not only unable but also unmotivated to educate their children. As the level of poverty rises, child labour in the rural areas has become crucial for family survival. Child labour is increasingly employed in domestic activities such as agriculture and petty trading in both rural and urban areas of the district. In some instances, children themselves have to carefully analyse the opportunity costs of their attendance of school. As a result, for example, children in the irrigated land area in the farming zones, abandon school to earn money by working in the fields as farm hands during the cropping periods. Staffing of village schools continues to present difficulties with many of the serving teachers often educated to Certificate 'A' four year teacher training. Fewer schools have furniture, blackboards, toilet facilities, drinking water or the provision of chalk. Twelve of the schools in my study were village schools; they ranged in size from 90 to 185 pupils.

Town schools: The town schools appear to be better than both the rural and village schools. This is perhaps on account of their proximity to the district education office for which reason they are resourced by their inclusion in specific development projects and have benefited from new or rehabilitated buildings, water supply and toilet facilities. In some schools, the increase in pupil enrolment has been so great that conditions are more crowded than before. Increases in pupil enrolment have in some schools created intolerable constraints on the space available for learning. School enrolment rates are higher than in the rural and village schools and the drop out rates are comparatively lower. There is inadequate personal attention for pupils, since class sizes vary between 60–75. There are more teachers, new buildings, textbooks, and children stay in school longer. Some teachers on the average do not attend school regularly. Although no tuition fees are charged, there are several direct costs of education – uniforms, textbook user fees, facilities fees, exercise books, pens and pencils. Three of the schools in my study were town schools in deprived environments. They ranged in size from 350 to 480 pupils.

Ideally the questionnaire survey would have covered all the 66 primary schools in the district, but this proved impossible in practice, since the schools were widely dispersed from each other and therefore would have entailed a high cost and considerable time in travelling across the whole geographical area.

The focus of the study required that schools met the following criteria:

- ◆ They should have classes 4, 5 and 6 (since these classes are the senior classes in the primary school and in which experienced teachers are assigned to teach);
- ◆ They should be characterised as poorly resourced and disadvantaged schools sited in the rural, village or town area;
- ◆ The head teacher should be willing to allow teachers in the school to take part in the research.

Most schools in both the village and rural settings could be described as being in extreme difficulties at the time of the study. All information about schools and the socio-economic characteristics of areas in the district were checked with the circuit supervisors who are familiar with the areas and the schools. I also made personal visits to the 25 sample school sites in advance of the actual research to make sure they met the desired criteria.

Typically, the problems in the sample schools related to a significant lack of focus on teaching and learning that was linked to the schools' internal conditions as poorly resourced and lacking in leadership. In many instances, the physical environment of the schools was unsatisfactory and did not create an atmosphere conducive to teaching and learning. Many schools had significant defects to the fabric of the buildings, such as rotting window frames, leaking roofs, inadequate toilet facilities, limited storage facilities, outdated furniture and fittings (where available or provided), open pavilion spaces serving as classrooms without walls, and poor décor.

Sampling of teachers for the questionnaire study: I decided to focus on primary school teachers for classes 4-6 in public primary school. There were 70 teachers in classes 4 to 6 in the 25 sample schools (two of the village and three of the rural schools were multi-grade and did not have a full complement of teachers). These 70 teachers provided the questionnaire sample.

This sample represents about 47% of the total number of teachers (150) in the 25 sample schools. It was my wish to survey teachers who had been teaching in those schools for a minimum period of two years. The requirement of two years' experience allowed for adequate time for participants to have gained experience as practitioners and to have experienced the context in which they worked. It was anticipated that these teachers would have experienced varying impacts of the educational reform on their own practice and within their schools.

Sampling of teachers for the in-depth interview study: The 25 schools for the research were determined by the criteria stated in section 4.6 (i.e. they should have classes 4, 5, & 6; be characterised as poorly resourced and disadvantaged schools sited in the rural, village or town area; and the head teacher should be willing to allow teachers in the school to take part in the research). From the 64 questionnaire responses received it was possible to make a distinction between 3 categories of teachers – younger teachers (YTs), older male teachers (OMTs) and older female teachers (OFTs). Although this did not result in equal numbers of each, it was nevertheless of interest to see how the results differed between them. The sample of teachers for the interviews was purposely chosen in order to represent the three deprived school locations and to represent the different age and gender groups. This resulted in a sample of 8 teachers as follows: 2 male teachers from 2 different rural schools; 3 male teachers from the same village school (one being a head teacher yet taught full time as a classroom teacher); 3 teachers from 3 disadvantaged town schools made up of two female teachers and a male teacher. However, only 7 teachers were included in the presentation of the interview data (see page 182, Table 6.2). The teachers for the interview sample came from 6

different schools out of the 25 schools of the questionnaire survey. Having met the above criteria they were chosen according to their availability to participate in the study. The same six classroom teachers and the headteacher provided the sample for the follow-up interview study; in addition a circuit supervisor who has been monitoring teachers' work in his circuit, and who had taught several years as a classroom teacher and as a head teacher before his appointment as a circuit supervisor, was interviewed in the second study.

The teachers in the interview study varied along dimensions such as gender, grade level, years of teaching experience, school and circuit context, kinds of pupils, interest and involvement in the reform and life experiences. Following these interviews, teachers' relative years of teaching experience, school context and the teachers' life experiences emerged as highly relevant.

Even though only one teacher interviewed was 30 years or less (YT), it is important to remember throughout that the reason for selecting a purposive sample is to achieve diversity. I wished therefore to interview a range of teachers with different characteristics in-depth and not to gather a representative sample in order to generalise findings. My focus was rather on individual perspectives of different teachers.

4.7:DOCUMENTARY ANALYSIS: In addition to the two-stage study described above, documents were collected and analysed in order to provide information relevant to the problems under investigation. For the purposes of this study, I collected the following documents: syllabuses and schemes of work; curriculum guidelines; policy statements; tests; worksheets and textbooks; pupils' work; pupils' records; District Education Office policy documents and guidelines; and National Curriculum Reviews. These documents were seen to relate to the curriculum change process that constituted the context for this research and thus helped me as a researcher to understand the possible influences of these on the teachers' implementation of the educational reform. The examination of the

documents also helped in the analysis of the findings from the field more specifically in analysing the rhetoric of government policy issues and teachers' responses and practices in classrooms.

4.8: FIELD NOTES: In addition to these data sources, I kept a notebook throughout the period of data collection in which I made extensive recording of what happened in the field in relation to the study. The notes included commentaries made by teachers during conversations before, after, or between school breaks and also information from informal conversational interviews with the teachers. The field notes contained descriptions of events, settings and interactions, my own reactions and observations to experiences and insights, as well as interpretations and emerging issues with quotations from what people have said in conversation and which were considered to be vital to the study. The field notes were also used to investigate a variety of themes that were not anticipated but which were, nevertheless, quite relevant to the interpretation of the success or failure of the reforms. I used the field notes to help me explain the intricately interwoven parts of the data sets from both the quantitative and qualitative data by placing emphasis on the contextual issues that emerged so as to make appropriate analytical handling of the data.

4.9: THE ROLE OF THE RESEARCHER: Qualitative research demands that the researcher, as the primary data-collection instrument, identify personal values, assumptions and biases at the outset of the study (Creswell, 1994). My desire to investigate the educational experiences of teachers in Navrongo district was shaped by my personal experiences as a pupil prior to the reform and later as a teacher in the education system in the district, and also as one who has taught at the primary, secondary and initial teacher training levels in Ghana before and between the reform programmes. As a former tutor in one of the initial teacher training colleges, and as a member of the Education Subject Panel Group, I worked closely with the Teacher Education Division of the Ministry of Education in the review of syllabuses. This was under the initiation and supervision of the

Department for International Development (former ODA) between 1989 and 1994. Inevitably, because of this past experience, I brought certain experiences to the study, which may have influenced my perceptions and understanding of the data collected. I was also aware that the possibility of interviewer bias has been levelled particularly at non-standardized interviews (Fielding, 1993) and I am aware of the difficulties of subjectivity. Whilst I spared no effort in being as aware of my position as I possibly could, it has to be acknowledged that I began this study with a hunch that the problems teachers in Ghana were experiencing with the reform package were due in part to their inadequate understanding and the professional support they required prior to its introduction and implementation at both the organisational and personal levels. This view is based on my own experience with the FCUBE reform and the various projects of implementation with which I was involved.

Thus, after clearing all the protocol issues with the District Director, Circuit Supervisors and teachers who were willing to take part in the research, my first attendance at formal staff meetings with the District staff began in April 2000. My subsequent regular attendance was made from May to September 2000 to enable me to build some level of confidence and trust with them and to feel accepted. I continued to visit the District Office and schools occasionally throughout the research period to clarify points about which I was uncertain, check that teachers were happy about my use of data specific to themselves, and make myself available to anyone should they wish to speak to me. Throughout the research period, retaining my position as a non-participant proved one of the greatest challenges for a number of reasons:

- i) As I became a familiar sight around the District and in the selected schools for the research, both Circuit Officers and teachers began to treat me as a colleague and sometimes shared very confidential thoughts and ideas. It proved difficult to respond positively to this gesture while retaining my 'detached' role.

- (ii) The District Director, who was a former student of my university before his appointment, and as a friend, still viewed me as a 'critical friend' and one devoted to helping the district. He therefore frequently shared some of the educational issues that were of concern to him in the District. I needed to maintain my relationship with him yet avoid merely becoming another 'friendly adviser'.
- (iii) With my continued visits to the District and the longer I remained in the District, the more I found that the issues I had raised with teachers and Circuit Supervisors during my interviews were being raised elsewhere in more informal discussions. I had to accept that by asking a response to a particular question at interview, I was inevitably highlighting the issue for the respondent and likely to trigger subsequent reference to it.

Nevertheless, I persevered to maintain a balance between over-familiarity and aloofness, recognizing that I would only get to know about the teachers' and circuit supervisor's experiences and their involvement with the FCUBE reform if I stayed closely in touch with them and their day-to-day work within schools and the District. How teachers reacted to some questions, how they felt in relation to their participation in the study, and the ease or difficulty of describing some past experiences or thoughts is something difficult to describe to the reader, but was seen as an important issue for me as a researcher.

Over the month of April 2001 when I was winding up on my second part of the study in the District, and despite my numerous visits to schools and frequent casual conversations with teachers, only one Circuit Supervisor asked for me to be discreet over the use of some of the comments from interviews conducted. However, my latest visit to the field in February 2003 offered me another opportunity to follow up on teachers who were previously interviewed and to

interview and interact with them for a second or third time in my attempt to build stronger individual cases of their experiences of the implementation of the reform.

4.10: ANALYSING THE DATA: For the analysis of the qualitative data I used a system of categorisation and coding based on the system of Huberman & Miles (1984). Decisions of which data *'to code, which to pull out, which patterns summarise a number of chunks, what the evolving story is, are all analytic choices'* (Huberman & Miles, 1984). Certain common tasks constitute the core of qualitative analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Goetz & Le Compte, 1984; Robson, 2002; Silverman, 1993); these involved how to code and categorise data, how to make connections between different aspects of the data and different units of meaning. I covered a wide range of activities from the routine organisation and handling of data to working out whether it was possible to make situational knowledge to some reality in the study area.

Presentation and analysis of quantitative data from questionnaires: The quantitative data were analysed descriptively using simple percentage counts and tables to present the relevant characteristics and views of the respondents. Demographic and descriptive data were identified and entered into tables (e.g. teacher's age and qualification, number of years of teaching experience, etc). For an overall view of teachers' responses to the FCUBE programme, simple percentages were used. The coding of replies to the 64 respondents of the questionnaire survey for which pre-coded response categories were used gave little difficulty. However, more care had to be taken with open-ended questions. A system of coding was developed similar to that used for the interviews as stated in the next subsection.

Presentation and analysis of interviews: The broad themes that formed the basis for the structure of the interview schedules provided the first level of coding. Categories were developed in part from the conceptual framework provided by the interview schedule, and in part from the themes identified from the initial reading

of the interview scripts. In drawing out the themes, the teachers' responses to a number of questions were examined and the following procedure was used for the qualitative data analysis: coding, summary data displays, and identification of categories and sub-categories and themes. In the analysis of the data, material relevant to each theme was therefore drawn together.

Preparation of data for analysis: All the interviews were transcribed in full. Each transcript was printed out as double spaced text with line numbers. The transcripts were checked against the verbatim quotes and my field notes. All the manually reviewed individual transcripts were further inputted into files and kept as Microsoft word files.

Even though the broad themes generated from the interview schedule provided a first step in coding the data, the verbatim transcripts in their entirety were read several times in order to permit immersion in the details and to get a sense of the interview responses as a whole before breaking them down into parts. In this way I aimed to obtain a sense of the overall data. I then described what I saw of the data within the context of the setting of the respondents by making reflective notes in the margins of the individual transcripts and my own field notes to capture each theme as an initial sorting out process. I looked closely at the responses of the respondents in the study and then proceeded to reduce the data by manually sorting the information for each individual respondent into the categories. I continued to scan all the individual interview responses to identify major organising ideas and to reflect on more general themes in the data so as to look for similarities and differences whilst looking for evidence that portrayed multiple perspectives or views of each respondent.

I made a careful review of the data to be selected by identifying recurring categories or ideas as I manually reviewed the materials through sorting and grouping sub-categories under a smaller number of broader, higher order categories. I assigned numbers to differentiate the individual categories by taking

the text or qualitative information apart and looking for subcategories or categories of information. I then ordered the data in some way that material with similar content or properties was located together to allow me to focus on each respondent in turn so that the detail and distinctions that lie within each category can be unpacked. This was also to allow for later stages of analysis that require placing these segments alongside other individual respondents' views or back in their original setting.

I made use of the synthesised data to prepare descriptive accounts, identifying key dimensions and mapping the range and diversity of each respondent's views or perspectives. At a later stage, final patterns of explicit associations within the data that occurred in the text or notes were linked between the sets of the respondents' experiences or perspectives and the characteristics of the study setting. In order to determine which part or parts of the transcripts apply to the categories devolved, and considering the small number of interviewees, I read each respondent's responses in fine detail.

The analysis of transcripts therefore followed the following sequence:

- i) Demographic and descriptive data were identified and entered into tables (e.g. page 182, Table 6.2 of section 6.0 for teachers' details of class taught, years of teaching experience, location of school, and so on);
- ii) Printed transcripts were read through and marginal notes made. Using a Word File after manually organising the interview data, sections from each of the interview transcripts were placed in preliminary categories. These categories were refined and subcategories developed more precisely to account for the data. The copying and pasting of the data from transcript files to the categories enabled a check on the exhaustiveness of the categories to be made;

- iii) From the categories of the data, the fine coding of specific segments of the data (primarily those relating to teachers' accounts of their work experiences and the FCUBE reform) were constantly checked against the data and refined if found not to adequately account for the data.

The system of categorisation helped me to identify connections or similarities or differences between the different respondents and to present each respondent's sense of distinctiveness of his or her own experiences with his or her work and the FCUBE reform, and also to look for similarities and differences across the interview data. It also allowed me to analyse each respondent as a unit and to holistically produce an explanation of their respective views on their work practices.

The nature of the analysis required working through the verbatim transcripts many times in the development of coding schemes. Closer scrutiny and further categories of the data added new codes, but merged others. Data were then searched again with particular attention to anomalies, to alternative explanations, or to competing conclusions. The categories had to be adequately described, coherent and consistent. Together the codes developed in each area represented a reservoir of possibilities from which the repertoire of an interviewee can be described. Verbatim quotes were selected to capture the context and support conclusions so that readers might judge the transferability of the meaning and interpretation of the data to its situated knowledge.

Triangulation of data sources: Denzin and Lincoln (2000) suggest that qualitative research is '*inherently multi-method*', with the result that '*triangulation is not a tool or a strategy of validation, but an alternative to validation*', offering '*rigor, breadth and depth*'. I employed triangulation in order to check out the consistency of findings generated by the different data collection methods. Even though I wanted to honour my agreement to guarantee anonymity of the respondents so they could speak freely about their superior officers and the context in which they

worked without fear of reprisal and without compromising what might be important factors constraining their professional development, a reality check was conducted by interviewing a circuit supervisor (one of the superior officers in the district) during my follow up interview session. Both complementary and contradictory results contributed to the patterns in the analysis.

Finally, as part of ensuring the credibility of the data, I gave the opportunity to each respondent to comment on the drafts I had made of each of them (i.e.7 teachers and the circuit supervisor) following data analysis. Miles and Huberman (1994) call participants the '*most logical source of corroboration*' but warn that, because they are a single informant, they may not agree with the researcher's conclusions. There were no major disagreements.

4.11: ISSUES OF VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY: The validity and reliability of the study were addressed within the context of '*trustworthiness*' and '*authenticity*' (Creswell, 1994:158), since the qualitative paradigm was the dominant approach in the combination of methodologies.

Validity: Validity refers to the extent to which measures or methods are appropriate for the issues under study (Kirk & Miller, 1986). I used a number of procedures to attempt to maximise validity. I employed a variety of methods – interviews, documentary analysis, field notes, and questionnaires (triangulation). I also tried to include a range of data sources (persons, documents, and places) so as to acquire as many perspectives on issues as possible. Thus triangulation concerned both multiple data collection methods and data sources. I knew that gaining access to a setting by no means guarantees access to all informants and data available there. I attempted to investigate as many parts of the setting as possible by continually interacting with the respondents. While seeking to triangulate, I did not simply aim to clarify meanings and perceptions but I also wanted to get alternative viewpoints since differences between sets, or sources of data, may be very important and illuminating. I thought that such differences were

crucial while investigating teachers' views where contradictions are not uncommon. Thus I tried to make triangulation central to my research, and build it into my data collection.

Consistency of approach within the different research settings was achieved by use of questionnaires and interview schedules, which identified issues to be investigated in all cases, while also increasing the comparability of the data. While proceeding with the fieldwork, I became more skilled at discerning what was more relevant or not, and thus, I generally recorded their particular experiences in the context of their work and less of common information.

The study therefore addressed the issue of internal validity by triangulating information from the different methods of data collection within the case study, and the discussion of researcher bias in section 4.8, 'the role of the researcher'. Drafts of interview records were sent back to all the teachers who participated in the interviews conducted between March – April 2001 for their comments and further explanations where it was felt relevant. In February 2003, I visited the field as a follow up on teachers' activities in the district and to carry out further interviews with the seven previously interviewed teachers to help me build individual cases on their experiences with the implementation of the reform. In addition I interviewed a circuit supervisor. Field notes and a field diary were kept and regularly reviewed.

I also read a draft of my research findings at a national conference on teacher education where the audience was made up of Government officials and professionals in the field of education. Again this was a means of verifying whether any of the findings obtained and the analysis of policy implementation were in any way off the mark. What was interesting was that the issue of multi-grade teaching emerged and this remains an issue that needs researching.

Even though the study is not culture-bound there is in it what is known as the 'courtesy-culture' (Bulmer, 1983), a kind of reticence and fear to come out with the real issues and therefore, out of courtesy, agreeing with issues. The actors may give a response to me as a researcher not quite consistent with what they really felt. They may perhaps not be open about their own teaching practices, and knowing me as a teacher, they may give an answer they presume I might want to hear. Hence, triangulation was carried out through the survey questionnaires, the semi-structured interviews, and observations as field notes to ensure the validity of the study.

As mentioned by Merriam (1988), and also Crossley & Watson (2003), the intention of qualitative research is not to generalise findings, but to form a unique interpretation of events. Thus, the themes that emerged from the data analysis apply to the research area and the primary strategy utilised in this research to ensure external validity was the provision of rich, thick, and detailed descriptions (Merriam, 1988). The findings are therefore specific to the situated knowledge of the study area.

Reliability: Reliability refers to consistency in procedures and findings, that is, the extent to which the research procedures yield the same answers however and whenever they are carried out (Kirk & Miller, 1986). It should be noted that the canons for reliability in quantitative research do not work in qualitative research, because the former assumes the possibility of replication, while the latter acknowledges the uniqueness and idiosyncrasy of situations (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993). It is impossible for a researcher to replicate exactly what a colleague has done in qualitative research that depends largely on the relationships established between researcher and participants; interpersonal relationships are never the same. However, as noted by Cohen et al (2000), this does not mean that qualitative research should not strive for replication in generating, comparing and validating constructs. The goal of reliability, to minimise errors and bias, is very important. Even if it may not be fully practical, the extent to which it can occur

should be considered. It is worth noting that ethnographic fieldwork conducted by different researchers would turn out differently in the sense that there are differences in emphasis and orientation, rather than in the story to be told; at least, that is what should be the case. Towards this end, researchers should make explicit their assumptions and interpretations and this is what I consistently tried to do when writing the chapters that present the teachers' responses, and those that discuss the findings.

Finally, reliability is not so much a matter of the possibility of replication as of investigating one's own experience and situation – in so far as one is in a situation relevant to the explored one - and arriving at similar results through using similar techniques. In a technical sense, reliability is pursued by careful, detailed and explicit documentation of the procedures followed and the development of a case study database (Yin, 1994). In the present study, efforts have been made to do both.

To maximise reliability and validity therefore, three techniques were employed in the research. First, I provided a detailed account to the teachers of the focus of the study, my role as a researcher, the teachers' position and the basis for the selection and context from which data was collected. Secondly, a combination of different methods of data collection and analysis were used, which strengthens reliability as well as internal validity (Merriam, 1988; Robson, 2002). Finally, data collection and analysis strategies are reported in detail in order to provide a clear and accurate picture of the methods used in the study.

4.12: LIMITATIONS OF THE METHODOLOGY

An obvious limitation of the study is that it relied exclusively on teachers' self-reported data whose validity may be problematical because of potential social desirability. However, it was made clear to teachers at the beginning that my research was solely for academic rather than evaluation purposes, and they did not uniformly respond in a favourable way.

The selection of the schools in the research area was adopted in order to analyse the subjective accounts made by the teachers in the context of the selected schools. I was also aware of a number of limitations – for instance that the duration of the data collection was relatively short and that the geographical area researched was not extensive. However, the current research aimed at effectively combining research methods, as well as comparing and contrasting views on issues of the educational reform derived from different teachers in order to minimise some of the limitations.

Although the size of the sample of schools was not large, careful attention was given to selecting the sample to ensure schools and teachers represented the disadvantaged schools in the five circuit areas in the district. The respondents therefore provide a sample of teachers from lowly resourced and disadvantaged schools in the district. Initial data analysis tended to support this claim in terms of the consistency of findings between schools and teachers across the district. However, this claim can be fully tested with replication of the study in the whole district covering a larger cohort of teachers; an idea I highly recommend.

Another limitation is that different contextual factors in the sample schools may have influenced the results. For example, school location or class taught may be an important contextual variable because it may be more difficult to implement the reform requirements in some schools than in others. Another contextual variable that may account for differences between schools and their implementation capability is the socio-economic status of the pupil populations enrolled in the different schools. Differences in the quality of administrative leadership at the school sites may also affect the implementation of the reforms. These variables are only a few of a host of potentially different yet influential contextual variables that might affect the teachers' work and their effort to implement the educational reform. I therefore had, throughout the administration of the questionnaire and interviews, to carefully monitor teachers' responses, noting potential problems relating to their understanding of the questions, the possible influence of the

Circuit Officers, and the possible ambiguity most likely to be related to the instrument.

Even though the interviews were timed to coincide with the school calendar of basic education schools prior to the fieldwork, a National Housing and Population Census posed a problem since most teachers in the district were involved in the head count exercise. My data collection therefore occurred two weeks after my planned visit to the field. Added to this, was the late setting in of the rains leading to the postponement of a few trips to some rural schools. On three different occasions, I had arrived in targeted schools without meeting teachers I wanted to interview.

The final limitation is the scope of the study. The questionnaire sample of 70 and the interview sample of seven teachers allowed only a small-scale exploratory study. The size of the sample was limited by the difficulties of carrying out research in disadvantaged areas of Ghana.

4.13: CONCLUSIONS: In this chapter I have presented the methodological approach, the methods, sampling procedures and analysis used for this small-scale study. Chapters 5 and 6 present the data collected from the teachers who participated in the research, and draws extensively from their working experiences within the context of the education reform.

CHAPTER 5: PRESENTATION OF QUESTIONNAIRE DATA

5.0: INTRODUCTION: This chapter presents the results of the questionnaire survey conducted in the field between April and September 2000. Completed questionnaires were received from 64 respondents out of a possible total of 70.

The percentages in the text and tables are based on the number of teachers who responded to the particular question. The percentage total is not exactly 100% in all the tables due to the approximations resultant from rounding to one decimal point on the individual percentages.

Initial exploration of the cross-tabulations by age and sex showed that there were significant gender and age differences in teachers' responses even though the study did not set out to address the question of whether teachers' age or age and interaction with gender is related to their reactions to their professional situation or the educational reform. The age breakdown corresponds, roughly, to the switch in training modality (see Section 5.1.3 below). A breakdown of the respondents to this study shows that over 64% (41) of teachers in the sample are above 30 years of age, while there is one female teacher below 30 years (see page 129, Table 5.1). Since there is only one woman under 30 years, I have grouped all those under 30 together as one category. Similarly because there are only a small number of teachers over 45 years, I have grouped together all men 30 or over and all women 30 or over into just two groups.

The findings of the questionnaire study are organised into three different age and gender groups: (i) younger (predominantly male) teachers below 30 years (YTs)(N=23), (ii) older male teachers above 30 years (OMTs)(N=31), (iii) older female teachers above 30 years (OFTs)(N=10). The responses suggest a significant difference among these three groups of teachers in how they view the teaching profession and their reactions to the FCUBE reform. The chapter starts by exploring teachers' overall views of their profession, moving into more

detailed views of some of the factors influencing their work, and concluding with how all these forces are reflected in their reactions to the FCUBE reform.

The results show that, in implementing teacher reforms in developing countries, there is a missing dimension that relates to teachers' own understanding of the reform and, that a gap exists between the government's rhetoric of improving teaching and learning and teachers' practices in classrooms. Tables are used to present raw data for the survey: the complete set is presented in Appendix 4. In addition, a number of Tables are included in the text to illustrate particularly significant points; the numbering of the Tables in the text reflects their being selected from the full set of Tables which are presented in Appendix 4 and referred to in the text. It will be seen from the Tables that the percentages represent percentages in the age groups, so that, while the raw numbers add up both vertically and horizontally, the percentages only add up horizontally.

5.1: GENERAL INFORMATION ON TEACHERS

This section deals with teachers' personal characteristics such as age, gender, academic and professional qualifications and teaching experience. The profile of the teachers in the survey sample is provided to help our understanding of the levels of both their academic and professional backgrounds in primary schools in the district.

5.1.1: Gender: Of the 64 teachers who responded to the survey, 11 (17%) were female, 53 (83%) were male. Although the overall statistical records of teacher strength and profile of the district stands at 32.4% female and 67.6% male (MOE, 2001) in all classes, the ratios in the survey of female to male appear to illustrate the proportion of trained female to male teachers who teach in the upper primary classes (i.e. classes 4-6) in Navrongo district. These results also appear to show that the profession of basic education for upper primary in the district is male dominated.

5.1.2: Age range of Teachers: Table 5.1 below shows that more than half (55%) (35) of the respondents fall within 31 - 45 years and 23 (36%) are 30 or under. The table also shows that most of the teachers are 45 years or below (58).

Table 5.1: Age range of Teachers in the sample

Personal Age of Teachers				
Gender	30 or Under	31 - 45	Over 45	Total
Male	22	25	6	53
Female	1	10		11
Total	23	35	6	64

5.1.3: Years of Teaching Experience: 36% (23) of the teachers had teaching experience spanning less than 5 years (Table 5.2, page 130). 22 (34%) teachers had teaching experiences ranging between 5-10 years and 13 (20%) between 11-20 years. Only 9% (6) had been teaching for over 20 years. All the teachers had therefore been teaching during the implementation of FCUBE reform. About one third of the teachers studied are young (30 years or under), and relatively inexperienced since they have been teaching for less than 5 years. This is because all teachers in primary schools are immediately employed after completion of their initial training in the teachers' colleges. It should be noted that teachers with teaching experiences spanning 11 years or more (about 30%) went through initial teacher training education in an entirely different era. Unsurprisingly, nearly half of those aged 30 and over are in this situation. They are in a particularly difficult position when exposed to the new reform curriculum requirements as they were trained in working at a narrower range of tasks than is now demanded in schools in the current reform.

Table 5.2: Years of Teaching Experience of Teachers in the Sample

Number of Years of Teaching Experience					
Age	Under 5	5-10 yrs	11-20 yrs	Over 20Yrs	Total
30 or Under (YTs)	21	2			23
	91.3%	8.7%			100.0%
Over 30 (OTs)	2	20	13	6	41
	4.9%	48.8%	31.7%	14.6%	100.0%
Total	23	22	13	6	64
	35.9%	34.4%	20.3%	9.4%	100.0%

5.1.4: Teachers' Qualifications: The characteristics that most distinguish Ghanaian teachers are the level of education for which they are trained, the type of school in which they teach, and the institution in which they received their professional or academic training. These are, however, all interrelated.

There is a basic certificate requirement for trained teachers nationwide in Ghana. Prior to 1994, two different systems of Initial Teacher Training programmes existed in the country: i) Certificate 'A' 4-Year, and ii) Post-Secondary Certificate 'A'.

In this study there are three different categories of teachers working in the disadvantaged schools as follows:

- i) Unqualified teachers employed as a result of teacher shortage in the system hold a minimum qualification of GCE 'O' levels.
- ii) The Certificate 'A' 4-Year Teacher Training programme was meant for school leavers who had attained a Middle School Leaving Certificate after pursuing 10 years of basic education prior to 1991 (i.e. 6 years primary schooling plus 4 years middle schooling) and training for four years at a Teachers Training College (TTC).

- iii) The Post-Secondary Certificate 'A' programme is meant for secondary school leavers who pass in 5 subjects at the GCE 'O' Levels (i.e. including credits in English language and mathematics), or secondary school leavers with two GCE 'A' Level passes after a sixth form course. Whilst holders of GCE 'O' Level Certificates trained for three years at the Teachers' Training Colleges, the GCE 'A' level holders trained for only two years.

Changes were introduced into teacher education in Ghana between 1974 and 1991 to enable the TTCs to train the 'right' calibre of teachers for basic schools nationwide. To upgrade the academic level of the basic education teacher, the 4-Year Post Middle course in the initial TTCs was phased out, with the last batch of students recruited in July 1991.

Table 5.3: Teacher Qualification (TQ)

Age of Teacher	'O' Levels only	Cert 'A' 4-Year	Post Secondary Certificate	Total
30 or Under (YTs)	9		14	23
	39.1%		60.9%	100.0%
Male over 30 (OMTs)		21	10	31
		67.7%	32.3%	100.0%
Female over 30 (OFTs)		10		10
		100.0%		100.0%
Total	9	31	24	64
	22.5%	43.7%	33.8%	100.0%

Most of the teachers in this study aged over 30 years were trained prior to the introduction of the new training modality under the FCUBE reform. Entry requirements into TTC have since then been raised to the possession of five GCE 'O' level passes including a credit each in English, Mathematics and Science subjects. It may be seen that about 78% of teachers in the study graduated from TTCs nationwide as qualified and certified teachers, while the remaining 22% had no teacher training qualification.

There is a clear difference in the teacher training programmes experienced by the different groups of teachers in the research sample. All the older female teachers (100%) and a higher proportion of older male teachers (68%) trained under the old system of teacher training prior to the introduction of the reform, whilst the younger teachers under 30 years (61%) trained within the period of the reform programme. If we assume that the characteristics of these 64 teachers are similar to those of teachers in disadvantaged schools in Navrongo as a whole, we can see that a significant number of them have been trained in a system of teacher education prior to the FCUBE reform. It will therefore be of interest to look at the different teachers' perspectives on their experiences of the success or otherwise of the reform package in the district.

The quality of pre-service teacher education students has been a topic of considerable debate over the past decade. The concern is that there has been a decline in the level of academic achievement (as indicated in the recent dismissal of students from some ITTCs who did not pass their first year's probationary examinations), of entrants into pre-service teacher education courses. The programme has thus been targeted for a good deal of public scrutiny and, for many, it has been found wanting. Teachers in Ghanaian primary schools are chosen from a fairly narrow band of the total population. Academically, they range from 'not bad' to 'not-good' on a final secondary school examination (Agboka, 2000).

5.2: TEACHERS' VIEWS OF TEACHING

This section deals with the views of teachers about teaching as a whole. It examines how teachers' enthusiasm, morale, stress, rewards, and expectations, affect their work as teachers. Additionally, teachers' views of their colleagues about the teaching profession, whether teaching is intellectually challenging, motivation levels in teaching, and the balance between teaching as work and teachers' personal lives are examined.

5.2.1: Enthusiastic About Teaching: Table 5.4 shows that 77% (24) of OMTs and 70% (7) of OFTs expressed their high enthusiasm for teaching. There is however an equal split of 39% (9) response from the YTs in favour and against their enthusiasm about teaching. This difference is worrying, since it appears that YTs are much less likely to be enthusiastic about teaching than older teachers. The less enthusiasm expressed by the YTs for the teaching profession is further attested to by them being more likely to say that they would like to leave the job five years later as illustrated in Table 5.9.

Table 5.4: Teacher Enthusiasm about Teaching

	Am Enthusiastic about Teaching				Total
	Yes	No	Don't know	Not applicable	
30 or Under (YTs)	9	9	4	1	23
	39.1%	39.1%	17.4%	4.3%	99.9%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	24	4	3		31
	77.4%	12.9%	9.7%		100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	7	2	1		10
	70.0%	20.0%	10.0%		100.0%
Total	40	15	8	1	64
	62.5%	23.4%	12.5%	1.6%	100.0%

5.2.2: Teacher Morale in Current Job: Table 5.5 shows that 65% (15) of the YTs feel very demoralised in the teaching profession as against 47% (14) of OMTs and 30% (3) of OFTs. This finding corroborates that of Table 5.4. It suggests that the YTs may be more likely to leave the teaching profession or stay on but with less commitment to their teaching, when compared to OFTs and OTs. The demoralization of YTs can also be linked to their dissatisfaction with the low salaries, low social status, fewer resources and heavy workloads which they experience in the discharge of their duties, all of which are illustrated in other sections of the chapter (see Tables 5.16; 5.19; 5.30 & 5.32). Overall, over half (51%) of the teacher sample in the study are demoralised in their work. This percentage is worryingly high and there is therefore a need for a more complete

understanding of the interplay between teachers' morale and their working conditions. Teacher motivation appears to be a critical factor that is ignored by education management and policy formulation at the school, district and national levels.

Table 5.5: Level of Teacher Morale

Age and Sex	I feel demoralised as a teacher				Total
	Yes	No	Don't know	Not Applicable	
30 or Under (YTs)	15	6	1	1	23
	65.2%	26.1%	4.3%	4.3%	99.9%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	14	12	1	3	30
	46.7%	40.0%	3.3%	10.0%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	3	5	2		10
	30.0%	50.0%	20.0%		100.0%
Total	32	23	4	4	63
	50.8%	36.5%	6.3%	6.3%	99.9%

5.2.3: Teaching is Stressful: Eighty percent (8) of OFTs find teaching stressful with the introduction of the reforms compared to 65% (20) OMTs and 57% (13) YTs as illustrated in Table 5.6 (Appendix 4). The OFTs feeling of stress could be attributed to their 100% time devoted to their teaching workload as indicated in Table 5.20.

5.2.4: Teaching is Rewarding: Table 5.7 shows that 90% OMTs and OFTs still find teaching rewarding. YTs, however, were divided as to whether they considered teaching as a rewarding job with 48% (11) claiming that they find the profession rewarding and 48% (11) claiming the opposite. This response of half of the YTs is linked to their responses regarding teacher morale, work-life, desire to leave the teaching service five years later, low salaries, status, and extra-curricula activities (see Tables 5.5; 5.8; 5.9; 5.16; 5.19; & 5.41). The differences in the YTs' responses are probably due to different work contexts and individual experiences. An alternative explanation could also be that the older teachers who remained in teaching are just the satisfied ones.

Table 5.7: Teaching Is Rewarding

Age and Sex	I Find Teaching Still Rewarding				Total
	Yes	No	Don't know	Not Applicable	
30 or Under (YTs)	11	11	1		23
	47.8%	47.8%	4.3%		99.9%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	28	1	1	1	31
	90.3%	3.2%	3.2%	3.2%	99.9%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	9	1			10
	90.0%	10.0%			100.0%
Total	48	13	2	1	64
	75.0%	20.3%	3.1%	1.6%	100.0%

5.2.5: Teaching Central to my Life: Table 5.8 shows that the vast majority of both OFTs (90%)(9) and OMTs (94%)(29) feel highly that work is central to their lives. This response is, however, only given by 57% (13) of the YTs, who do not appear to find the teaching job central to their lives. This might be that there are fewer opportunities for them in teaching as a career. It could also be as a result of their desire to leave teaching due to their low morale (Table 5.5), resulting from poor salaries and less and less respect (see Tables 5.16 & 5.19) shown to teachers.

Table 5.8: Teaching Central to Teacher's Life

Age and Sex	Is Teaching central to your life?				Total
	Yes	No	Don't know	Not Applicable	
30 or Under (YTs)	13	8	1	1	23
	56.5%	34.8%	4.3%	4.3%	99.9%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	29		1	1	31
	93.5%		3.2%	3.2%	99.9%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	9	1			10
	90.0%	10.0%			100.0%
Total	51	9	2	2	64
	79.7%	14.1%	3.1%	3.1%	100.0%

5.2.6: Expecting to be in Teaching Longer: About 20% (9) of the 64 teachers indicated their desire to leave the teaching profession after the next five years. Of this percentage, YTs are most likely (35%) (8) to want to leave teaching within 5 years as illustrated in Table 5.9. This is followed by OFTs (10%) (1), and then OMTs (7%) (2). There is therefore an indication from the data that OMTs will stay longer in the profession than will the OFTs and YTs. The response rate of the YTs suggests a 34.8% (8) turnover for younger teachers and the departure of about 10% (1) of the OFTs is likely to cause great gaps in schools more especially with the loss of teaching experiences acquired by those leaving the field.

Table 5.9: Stay in Teaching Longer

Age & Sex	I Will Still Teach After Five Years		Total
	Yes	No	
30 or Under (YTs)	13	8	23
	56.5%	34.8%	91.3%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	29	2	31
	93.5%	6.5%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	9	1	10
	90.0%	10.0%	100.0%
Total	51	9	64
	79.7%	20.3%	100.0%

5.2.7: Teachers' Satisfaction with their Colleagues' Views of Teaching: Among the older teachers, there is a high satisfaction level of their colleagues' views about teaching. This is expressed by 70% (7) of the OFTs and 81% (25) of the OMTs as shown in Table 5.10. Over 52% (12) of YTs are however not satisfied with how their colleagues view teaching. The YTs' response could be attributed to the possibility of a generational gap between them and the older teachers. The YTs' feelings are consistent with their responses regarding their dissatisfaction with low morale, low salaries and lesser prospects for career development as shown in Tables 5.5, 5.16 and 5.17.

Table 5.10: Colleagues' Views about Teaching

Age and Sex	Your Colleagues Views About Teaching				Total
	Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Very satisfied	
30 or Under (YTs)	5	7	9	2	23
	21.7%	30.4%	39.1%	8.7%	100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	2	4	22	3	31
	6.5%	12.9%	71.0%	9.7%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)		3	6	1	10
		30.0%	60.0%	10.0%	100.0%
Total	7	14	37	6	64
	10.9%	21.9%	57.8%	9.4%	100.0%

5.2.8: Teachers' Satisfaction with Intellectual Challenge of teaching: Teachers on the whole feel satisfied with the amount of intellectual challenge they are exposed to as illustrated in Table 5.11 (Appendix 4). This is again expressed by 82% (19) of the YTs, followed by 70% (7) of the OFTs and then 63% (19) of the OMTs. These results could equally be signaling the need for administrators to try to build on teachers' interest for learning new ideas by further examining what teachers can do to improve upon teaching and learning in schools.

5.2.9: Level of Motivation: The data in Table 5.12 (Appendix 4) show a mixed level of satisfaction among teachers in terms of motivation. Whilst 55% (16) of OMTs show a high level of motivation, the levels decreases to 50% (5) among the OFTs and 39% (9) amongst the YTs. The YTs have a low of motivation. The teachers' responses here corroborate those in earlier sections on their morale (Table 5.5) and the society's view of them (Table 5.19). This low morale among teachers sometimes results in their feeling of less interest to attend any formal in-service sessions or carry out extra-curricular duties. Teachers also become unwilling to put in extra hours for teaching.

5.2.10: Teachers' Satisfaction with Balance between Work and Personal Life: A high percentage among the OMTs in the sample in Table 5.13 say they are

satisfied with the balance they maintain between work and their personal lives. The level of satisfaction expressed among both the OFTs and YTs, however, decreases respectively to 56% (5) to 48% (11). The higher satisfaction of OMTs is not surprising given that OMTs indicated elsewhere how satisfied they were with their motivation, salary, leisure, and autonomy as illustrated in Tables 5.12, 5.16, 5.22, and 5.2.

Table 5.13: Teachers' Balance Between Work & Personal Life

Age and Sex	Satisfied with Balance between Work & Life?				Total
	Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Very Satisfied	
30 or Under (YTs)		12	11	-	23
		52.2%	47.8%	-	100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	1	8	21	-	30
	3.3%	26.7%	70.0%	-	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)		4	5	-	9
		44.4%	55.6%	-	100.0%
Total	1	24	37	-	62
	1.6%	38.7%	59.7%		100.0%

From the data presented in this section, it is evident that:

- The YTs are less enthusiastic, feel more demoralised, stressed and less motivated in the teaching profession. They find the profession less rewarding, have a low opinion about how their colleagues view the profession, and do not find teaching central to their lives. Since they are not able to find a balance between work and their personal lives, they are more likely to quit the profession in the next five years.
- On the other hand, both the OMTs and OFTs are highly enthusiastic about teaching. They also feel highly that teaching is central to their lives, have a high opinion about how their colleagues view the teaching profession, and think teaching is still rewarding.

- The main contrast between the OMTs and OFTs is that the OMTs find the profession less stressful than the OFTs as expressed by the levels of responses (i.e. 80% (8) stress levels for OFTs as against 65% (20) among the OMTs).

- The differences between the younger teachers (YTs) and the older teachers (OMTs & OFTs) could be attributed to the generational gap between them. The YTs who intend to leave the profession in the next five years, may simply parallel the percentage of older teachers who might have left the profession under similar reasons in the past, or there could be many other reasons. Nevertheless, it has implications for future educational planning in terms of teacher recruitment and retention rates among the younger generation (YTs).

5.3:SATISFACTION WITH SALARY AND CAREER PROSPECTS

In this section, amid the mounting pressure on teachers to revamp their existing teaching and learning processes, teachers' perceptions of their teaching career and the extent to which their perceptions affect their career commitment are examined in relation to their salaries, desire to change schools, recognition of their efforts and the society's views about them as teachers.

5.3.1: *Movement to Another School:* Teachers in Ghana usually request transfers to other schools due to the poor conditions they encounter in rural areas. This has serious effects on the continuity in the schools and the ability of colleagues to work effectively. As shown in Table 5.14 (Appendix 4), 50% (5) of OFTs expressed interest in moving from their present schools to new ones compared to 39% (12) of the OMTs and only 35% (8) of the YTs. The different situation among the OFTs is likely to be as a result of their quest to leave the rural schools and to join their spouses who, in general, work in the towns. It is interesting that as few as 35% (8) of the YTs expressed the desire to move from their present schools. It could be that, from their point of view rural schools provide the kind of freedom of movement they enjoy always creating opportunities for themselves to get away from their schools for longer periods whenever they need to do so

without any harsh checks on them by their headteachers or the community leaders, a situation which is not feasible within the town schools. Alternatively, younger teachers may be interested in more professional development prospects and more diverse school experiences particularly in the urban areas so that they do want to move schools.

5.3.2: *Work Only to Live:* Table 5.15 shows a higher percentage (39%) (9) of respondents among the YTs who claim they '*work only to live*'. The corresponding rates among the OMTs and OFTs were 29% (9) and 20% (2). OFTs may therefore be more committed to their teaching job, followed by OMTs and then the YTs. It will appear that the YTs who indicated they '*work only to live*', probably entered the teaching service as a last resort or see the service as a means to an end. They are therefore most likely to be less committed to their work as teachers, and more likely to leave teaching (corroborating the conclusion of the previous section).

5.3.3: *Salary:* Table 5.16 shows that almost all the teachers (95%) (61) expressed dissatisfaction with the salary paid them. All the OFTs and the YTs are dissatisfied with their salaries, with only 10% (3) of the OMTs expressing satisfaction with what they receive. The few OMTs that do express satisfaction might be because they have been able to earn extra money in addition to their regular teaching job. However it is noticeable that YTs feel more strongly about the issue than the other groups, with 65% (15) saying that they are very dissatisfied compared to 40% (4) of OFTs and 26% (8) of OMTs (also see Table 5.23). The low salaries paid to teachers, is a significant factor influencing their motivation. Teachers' salaries do not constitute a living wage, and not surprisingly, this leads to demoralisation and teacher attrition, and not least, a detrimental effect on teachers' classroom performance. This impression is confirmed by earlier research evidence by Davies (1994) that because teachers receive low salaries in Ghana, they embark on a second job to enable them make a living.

Table 5.16: Teacher Satisfaction with Salary

Age and Sex	Teacher's Level of Satisfaction with Salary				Total
	Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Very Satisfied	
30 or Under (YTs)	15	8		-	23
	65.2%	34.8%		-	100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	8	20	3	-	31
	25.8%	64.5%	9.7%	-	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	4	6		-	10
	40.0%	60.0%		-	100.0%
Total	27	34	3	-	64
	42.2%	53.1%	4.7%		100.0%

5.3.4: Prospects for Career Advancement: Teachers' satisfaction regarding prospects for their career advancement is lower among OMTs (45%) (14) and further decreases for OFTs (40%) (4) followed by YTs (35%) (8). Although not very significant, the YTs appear to see their prospects as slim when compared to how OFTs and OMTs see their prospects. On the whole, 59% (38) of the total sample in Table 5.17 (see Appendix 4) feel dissatisfied about their career prospects in the job. Teachers, like other types of public servants, see themselves not as static employees but as professionals on a structured career path. From the teachers' responses, there seem to be a real hunger for promotions and a strong feeling that their opportunities for career advancement are constrained by the bureaucratic system. This may also be the cause of teachers feeling of demoralisation and less commitment in their work.

5.3.5: Recognition of Teachers' Efforts: The overall levels of dissatisfaction among teachers regarding how their efforts are recognised by both administrators and the general public is very disturbing. As illustrated in Table 5.18 (Appendix 4), 58% (37) of teachers in the sample said they feel dissatisfied. This dissatisfaction rate, however, varies among the different categories of teachers examined. The OFTs expressed a greater dissatisfaction rate (70%) (7) as against 61% (14) and 52% (16) among the YTs and OMTs respectively. Dissatisfaction with recognition of efforts with school management or the general public was

predominant amongst female teachers and much less amongst the male teachers (i.e. YTs & OMTs). This result appears to reflect a situation of gender bias where the greater majority of people in the Ghanaian society overlook female involvement in administration. A clear example closer to this research is the point that there is no single female circuit supervisor in the district even though they are as qualified as their male counterparts; a situation which needs further examining in the future.

5.3.6: Teachers' Satisfaction in Respect of Society's View of them: Teachers derive a sense of worth and value from their status in, and communication to, the communities around them and the wider society. Up until the 1970s, teachers could expect to command considerable respect in the eyes of the community they served. Often the only educated people in the vicinity, they took pride in their roles and the rewards that their positions brought. But as observed in Table 5.19 (Appendix 4), the overall results of the teachers' responses point to a very low image of teachers by the society. Only 28% (18) of the teachers feel satisfied with the views of society about teachers. The YTs are the most dissatisfied about society's view of teachers recording a positive satisfaction rate of only 17% (4), followed by OFTs with a corresponding satisfaction rate of 30% (3), rising to 36% (11) among the OMTs. The reduction in their salaries (Table 5.16) seems to have taken their toll on the public perception of their role and contribution. Ironically, this comes at a time when teachers' dependency on the communities around them may have actually increased with teachers requiring credit in local shops. They might employ child-labour on their farms or even depend on local supplies of cheap agricultural goods for survival. This lack of respect for teachers compounds the poor morale teachers feel as a result of their poor remuneration and which is more likely to lead to their earlier departure from the teaching field.

In summary, section 5.3 demonstrates that:

- All teachers in the sample, irrespective of their age or gender, expressed dissatisfaction with their salaries, career prospects, the low view of society about them, and recognition of their efforts.
- There are fewer male teachers (OMTs & YTs) who would wish to change schools than their female counterparts (OFTs). Half the number of OFTs (5) have the desire to change schools. They also feel dissatisfied with the recognition accorded them for their efforts and the low view society holds of them; and
- The YTs '*work only to live*' and therefore see teaching as a means to an end.

5.4: TEACHERS' TASKS OTHER THAN TEACHING: Section 5.4 deals with the non-teaching tasks teachers undertake aside from teaching. Included in this section are issues concerning the proportion of time spent on administration, leisure, and teachers' other paid job aside from teaching. The findings in this section seem to imply that there is indeed a stronger influence among older teachers than younger teachers regarding teachers' non-teaching and teaching tasks.

5.4.1: Non-Teaching Tasks: Table 5.20 shows that very few of the teachers in the research sample appeared to consider that they spent too much time on non-teaching tasks. All the OFTs claim they devote their entire time to teaching. They are followed by YTs who say they devote about 91% (21) of their time to teaching tasks compared to 77% (24) of the OMTs. The OFTs value of 100% (10) corroborates the lack of interest expressed by OFTs for taking part in extra-curricular activities as shown in Table 5.41 (see Appendix 4). The data further illustrate that teachers' normal workload constitutes a basic constraint on their participation in anything more elaborate except during school hours. Even then,

most teachers often have preferred alternatives for the use of their time unless specific incentives to participate are offered.

The data from Table 5.23 (see Appendix 4) also illustrate how OMTs devote part of their time to earn extra income aside that from their profession by doing other jobs.

Table 5.20: Teachers' Non-Teaching Tasks

Age and Sex	I Spend Too Much Time on Non-Teaching Task				Total
	Yes	No	Don't know	Not Applicable	
30 or Under (YTs)		21	2		23
		91.3%	8.7%		100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	4	24		3	31
	12.9%	77.4%		9.7%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)		10			10
		100.0%			100.0%
Total	4	55	2	3	64
	6.3%	85.9%	3.1%	4.7%	100.0%

5.4.2: Teachers' Proportion of Time spent on Administration rather than Teaching Tasks: In Table 5.21 (Appendix 4), 56% (5) of the OFTs in the sample feel dissatisfied with the amount of time they spend on administration as against 40% (12) and 50% (11) dissatisfaction rates among the OMTs and YTs respectively. From the data it seems that OFTs are left with proportionately little time for their teaching tasks as compared to that of the OMTs and YTs. This result seems to contradict the previous claim by OFTs that they devote 100% of their time to teaching (see Table 5.20). There is however a balance in the allocation of time for both activities among the YTs.

5.4.3: Leisure Out of Work: All the OFTs claim they are still able to maintain leisure activities outside of their school work schedules as demonstrated by their 100% response rate. This might explain why a greater percentage of the OFTs are still enthusiastic about teaching as illustrated in Table 5.4. The amount of time left for leisure activities outside of work for both the OMTs and YTs decreases to 71% (22) and 57% (13) respectively as shown in Table 5.22. This picture also corroborates the responses of the OFTs to their lack of interest for extra-curricular activities (Table 5.41) coupled with their not spending too much time on non-teaching tasks as illustrated in Table 5.20, although the reverse is true for the OMTs.

Table 5.22: Teacher Leisure

Age and Sex	I Manage to maintain Leisure Activities				Total
	Yes	No	Don't know	Not Applicable	
30 or Under (YTs)	13	9	1		23
	56.5%	39.1%	4.3%		100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	22	5	1	3	31
	71.0%	16.1%	3.2%	9.7%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	10				10
	100.0%				100.0%
Total	45	14	2	3	64
	70.3%	21.9%	3.1%	4.7%	100.0%

5.4.4: Other Paid Job Aside Teaching: In Table 5.23 (Appendix 4), nearly all teachers claim that they do not have another paid job. Even though it is widely known in Ghana that teachers salaries are low, all the OFTs and the YTs claim they do not engage in any other paid job aside from their teaching, with only 3% (1) of the OMTs admitting devoting their energies to other pursuits to earn extra money. The situation of the OMTs is likely to be linked to the issue of low salaries for teachers and large family expenses. In the case of the OFTs, they seem to be supported by their male spouses in the Ghanaian custom. The YTs are likely to have lesser responsibilities compared with the OMTs but, since the YTs are

dependent on their low salaries, they are more likely to leave the teaching profession than the OMTs. See Table 5.9 where 35% (8) of the YTs indicated that they wanted to leave the profession in the next five years.

In this section, the following key points have emerged:

- Both the OMTs and OFTs devote most of their time for teaching;
- The claim by the OFTs that they devote much of their time teaching however seems to contradict their other claim that they devote more time for administrative work;
- The OMTs engage in extra-income earning activities to supplement their regular teaching incomes, whilst the YTs and OFTs do not.

5.5: TEACHING IN SCHOOL: Section 5.5 is divided into two parts: collegiality with other teachers and the process of teaching. In this section, teachers' relationships among themselves in schools and the various factors influencing their effective functioning in schools are examined.

5.5.1: Collaboration with Colleague Teachers: This subsection deals with how teachers in the study view the relationships that exist among them and how these relationships are likely to hinder or provide fertile grounds for improving upon their work as teachers. It therefore examines issues concerned with how teachers view each other's company, the extent of friendliness exhibited among them and how their colleagues influence their teaching practices.

5.5.1.1: Company of Colleague Teachers: Even though in Ghana teachers have similar salaries and allowance problems, at least 90% in each category indicated a feeling of satisfaction with the company of their colleagues as shown in Table 5.24 (see Appendix 4). It is not clear from their responses what they find in each

other's company. Both head teachers and circuit supervisors could however, take advantage of this situation to build positive relationships among teachers. This could be done by initiating programmes in schools for teachers to build collegiality, cooperation and collaboration among themselves to help improve upon teaching and learning in schools.

5.5.1.2: Satisfaction with Friendliness of Staff: All teachers in the sample feel satisfied with the friendliness exhibited by other staff. This is expressed by all the OFTs followed by 91% (21) of the YTs and 81% (25) of the OMTs. These high satisfaction rates, as illustrated in Table 5.25 (Appendix 4), corroborates the teachers' earlier responses on their colleagues' views about teaching (Table 5.10) but which could be deduced as being contextual with the OMTs showing most dissatisfaction.

5.5.1.3: Influence Of Colleagues: All the different age groups appear to be highly influenced by their colleagues at work: 80% (8) of the OFTs followed by YTS (70%) (16) and OMTs at (67%) (20), as shown in Table 5.26 (Appendix 4). This finding is also important since teachers' positive views about their own influences on one another can be tapped on as a resource for encouraging the creation of discussion groups among themselves for educational purposes. This is further corroborated by the teachers expressed satisfaction of their colleagues' views about the teaching profession as illustrated in Table 5.10.

The findings of this section therefore indicate that:

- The friendly company enjoyed by teachers among themselves is more likely to lead them to seek from, and offer counsel to each other. This cordial atmosphere among the teachers could lead to shared responsibility as they tend to negotiate instruction for their pupils, make work-related decisions, face common teaching problems and to survive through solving them with mutual help.

- The findings therefore seem to support the existence of a kind of interaction among teachers in schools, information about colleagues' particular teaching strengths, recognition of common problems, including the need for common expectations.

5.5.2: Process of Teaching: This subsection examines teachers' working relations with their pupils, their influence over school policies and procedures, their autonomy, availability of resources, support for discipline, and workload. Teachers in this study seem fundamentally affected by the daily interactions with their pupils. The lack of teaching and learning resources and heavy workloads has left teachers feeling that, possible approaches to teaching are limited and inadequate. They therefore resort to their autonomy in isolation in their classrooms.

5.5.2.1: Working most morning: In Table 5.27, 22% (5) of YTs find difficulty to face work each morning compared to 10% (1) of OFTs and 7% (2) of OMTs. The difficulties teachers face each morning would appear to relate to their demoralisation (Table 5.5), stress levels (Table 5.6), teaching tasks (Table 5.20), leisure (Table 5.22), and pupil discipline (Tables 5.31 & 5.45) all of which are discussed in this chapter.

Table 5.27: Getting To Work Each Morning

Age and Sex	I Find it Hard to Face Work Most Mornings				Total
	Yes	No	Don't know	Not Applicable	
30 or Under (YTs)	5	13	5		23
	21.7%	56.5%	21.7%		99.9%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	2	26		3	31
	6.5%	83.9%		9.7%	100.1%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	1	8		1	10
	10.0%	80.0%		10.0%	100.0%
Total	8	47	5	4	64
	12.5%	73.4%	7.8%	6.3%	100.0%

5.5.2.2: Teachers' Influence over School Policies and Procedures: There is a greater feeling of satisfaction among the OMTs (68%) (21) regarding their influence over school policies and procedures compared to 48% (11) of YTs (Table 5.28). The differences between the OMTs and YTs is important and could be explained in terms of the OMTs seniority and number of years of teaching experience.

Table 5.28: Teachers' Influence Over School Policies

Age and Sex	My Influence Over School Policies				Total
	Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Very Satisfied	
30 or Under (YTs)	1	11	10	1	23
	4.3%	47.8%	43.5%	4.3%	99.9%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)		10	19	2	31
		32.3%	61.3%	6.4%	100.1%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)		5	5		10
		50.0%	50.0%		100.0%
Total	1	26	34	3	64
	1.6%	40.6%	53.1%	4.7%	100.0%

5.5.2.3: Teachers' Autonomy over Teaching: Table 5.29 depicts that the older teachers (OMTs & OFTs) in the sample have relatively high satisfaction levels, ranging from between 70% (21) among the OMTs to 80% (8) among the OFTs, as compared to only 50% (11) of the YTs, about their autonomy in teaching. The data suggest that teachers are most likely to be more independent in the exercise of their teaching since they are more likely not to seek advice, but rely instead on their own experiences. This situation also makes it easier for teachers to stick to what they are most comfortable with, without questioning or making any attempts at experimenting with new ideas. Such isolation and absence of collaboration among teachers within a school is not unique to Ghanaian teachers.

Table 5.29: Teacher Autonomy

Age and Sex	My Autonomy In Classroom				Total
	Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Very Satisfied	
30 or Under (YTs)	2 9.1%	9 40.9%	10 45.5%	1 4.5%	22 100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)		9 30.0%	19 63.3%	2 6.7%	30 100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)		2 20.0%	8 80.0%		10 100.0%
Total	2 3.2%	20 32.3%	37 59.7%	3 4.8%	62 100.0%

5.5.2.4: Teachers' Satisfaction with Availability of Resources: The overall picture of satisfaction among teachers on the availability of resources leaves much to be desired as can be seen in Table 5.30 (Appendix 4). There is complete dissatisfaction among all teachers irrespective of their age and gender concerning resources for teaching and learning in schools. This is expressed by all of the YTs (23), and 90% each among the OMTs (28) and OFTs (9).

5.5.2.5: Teachers' Satisfaction of Support on Discipline: Teachers satisfaction on discipline in schools as illustrated in Table 5.31 (Appendix 4) seem mixed. Whilst 50% (5) of the OFTs feel satisfied about the support given to disciplinary issues, the figure decreases to 44% (10) among the YTs and a further decline among OMTs to 38% (11). The OMTs are seen to be less happy about school discipline and the support they receive for it as against a near balance of satisfaction among both the OFTs and YTs. This might be that the OMTs are particularly challenged by the fact that they perceive their authority and respect to be on the decline. It might also be that a decline in teacher confidence in their own skills and subject knowledge, partly prompted by the innovations in syllabuses, curricula and methodology, has unfortunately coincided with a considerable culture shift in pupil behaviour and parental attitudes due to changing school demands. Unfortunately, older teachers might also try to draw comparisons

between pupils today and the past, and quite often, teachers compared pupils' attitudes with their own when they were at school.

5.5.2.6: Satisfaction with Workload: Workload in schools attracted a near 100% dissatisfaction rating among all teachers in the sample. It is worthy of note that the most dissatisfied are the YTs (26%) (6) compared to OMTs (17%) (5) and OFTs (10%) (1) (Table 5.32, Appendix 4). Teachers seem united by a sense that recent innovations had increased the complexity of their workloads, with a resultant negative impact on their motivation. The pressure created by accommodating these changes also goes some way to explain the grievances voiced about teaching and learning resources in Table 5.30 (Appendix 4). These factors together form a picture of teachers who are seemingly left in the dark about decisions and given little assistance to implement the desired reform changes. The younger teachers are those most likely to vent their feelings.

The summary points for section 5.5 therefore demonstrate that:

- All teachers in the sample, irrespective of age or gender, agree on cordial relationships among themselves and therefore a possibility of collaboration, since there is a high acceptance amongst them of the company of their colleagues, a high expression of friendliness among colleagues and a greater influence of colleagues on their teaching practices.
- Teachers are also unanimous about the inadequate supply of teaching and learning resources as well as the heavy workloads in their schools. Even though the degree of dissatisfaction varies amongst the different groups, they seem significant.
- Both OMTs and OFTs feel more autonomous in their schools and are more comfortable with the relationships with their pupils than is the case

for YTs. They are also able to accommodate disciplinary issues much better than the YTs;

- Whilst OMTs are satisfied with their involvement with school policies, both OFTs and YTs show less satisfaction. Interestingly, dissatisfaction with involvement in school policies was predominant amongst OFTs, and much less an issue amongst male teachers, who generally indicated that they felt included in school policy issues.

It is possible that simple steps taken on the part of head teachers and circuit supervisors could make a big difference to the morale of teachers in schools. There will be the need for head teachers and circuit supervisors to exploit the friendliness among staff to establish collegial, collaborative and cooperative relationships among teachers to help improve upon teaching and learning in schools overall.

This lack of teaching resources could also be a contributing factor to a situation in which teachers are unable to meet students' needs and thus encounter behavioural problems in the classroom, leading to a further dip in their morale. Teachers' work pressure therefore seems to be further aggravated by the lack of resources and support they receive.

5.6: INFLUENCES ON TEACHERS' TEACHING PRACTICES: The teaching profession recognises that bodies of knowledge are dynamic, so that it can never be assumed that the knowledge or skill acquired by a teacher should not be updated. Teachers need to be facilitated in their efforts to keep in touch with the current literature in their field and encouraged to pursue on-going learning. This section therefore examines the various factors that seem to influence teachers' teaching practices. These are: the family, initial teacher training, teaching experience, teachers' own reading, influence of head teachers and circuit

supervisors, professional associations, in-service courses, and teachers participation in extra-curricular activities.

5.6.1: Family Influence: There is an indication from the data in Table 5.33 that a higher percentage (67%) (18) of OMTs are more influenced by the family in their teaching practices compared to the lower percentages of 43% (10) and 40% (4) saying this among YTs and OFTs respectively. This may be an indication that the OMTs are the breadwinners of their families for which reasons they have to take to teaching to enable them meet their family requirements.

Table 5.33: My Family's Influence on Me As A Teacher

Age and Sex	Family Influence On My Teaching				Total
	Not At All	Only A Little	Strongly	Very Strongly	
30 or Under (YTs)	4	9	3	7	23
	17.4%	39.1%	13.0%	30.4%	99.9%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	2	7	11	7	27
	7.4%	25.9%	40.7%	25.9%	99.9%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	4	2	2	2	10
	40.0%	20.0%	20.0%	20.0%	100.0%
Total	10	18	16	16	60
	16.7%	30.0%	26.7%	26.7%	100.0%

5.6.2: Initial Teacher Training (ITT): A higher proportion of the YTs (74%) (17) and OFTs (70%) (7) say their teaching practices have been influenced by their initial teacher training (ITT), compared to only 43% (12) of OMTs (Table 5.34); a result which is highly significant. The stronger influences of ITT on the YTs is almost certainly the result of their recent completion of ITT having experienced the new methodologies taught during their time in college. The relatively small influence of ITT on the OMTs could also be attributed to the OMTs previous training which is different from the current ITT programmes coupled with their less exposure to INSET programmes as indicated by their response to the influence of INSET (Table 5.40) on their practice.

Table 5.34: Influence of Initial Teacher Training (ITT)

Age and Sex	ITT Influence On My Teaching				Total
	Not At All	Only A Little	Strongly	Very Strongly	
30 or Under (YTs)	1	5	13	4	23
	4.3%	21.7%	56.5%	17.4%	100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	1	15	10	2	28
	3.6%	53.6%	35.7%	7.1%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)		3	6	1	10
		30.0%	60.0%	10.0%	100.0%
Total	2	23	29	7	61
	3.3%	37.7%	47.5%	11.5%	100.0%

5.6.3: Teaching Experience: All (100%) (10) the OFTs feel that their teaching practices are strongly influenced by their own teaching experiences. The same is true of most YTs (87%) (20) and OMTs (86%) (24) (Table 5.35, Appendix 4). From the teachers' responses as a whole, there seem to be much dependence on their own teaching experiences in teaching and learning in schools with the OFTs claiming a higher influence response rate than both OMTs and YTs. Again, the stronger influence of teachers own teaching experiences on their practices could be as a result of their dissatisfaction regarding staff development and individual teacher in-service provision as illustrated in table 5.57.

5.6.4: Teachers' Own Reading: Teachers have a personal and professional obligation to inform their practice by reading material relevant to their job. Professional education should therefore be seen as providing lifelong learning in the context of varying life and career cycles for teachers. As shown in Table 5.36, 48% (11) of the YTs feel strongly that their own independent reading and learning does influence their teaching practices compared to 40% (4) and 25% (7) respectively among the OFTs and OMTs. The difference between OMTs and YTs is highly significant. The strong influence on the YTs by their own reading might enable them to develop professionally through improved individual learning from their reading experiences.

Table 5.36: Influence of Teachers' Own Reading on Practice

Age and Sex	Influence of Own Reading on Practice				Total
	Not At All	Only A Little	Strongly	Very Strongly	
30 or Under (YTs)	3 13.0%	9 39.1%	11 47.8%		23 100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	5 17.9%	16 57.1%	7 25.0%		28 100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	2 20.0%	4 40.0%	4 40.0%		10 100.0%
Total	10 16.4%	29 47.5%	22 36.1%		61 100.0%

5.6.5: Head teachers' Influence: All the teachers agree to the strong influences of their head teachers to their teaching practices. The level of influence, as illustrated in Table 5.37 (Appendix 4), however, varies among the different age groups as reflected in the data. The OMTs feel very strongly that their teaching practices are influenced by their head teachers expressing a response rate of 32% (9), with YTs and OFTs only a little lower at 26% (9) and 20% (2) respectively.

Given that some head teachers attend seminars and in-service programmes, as representatives of their schools, it is reasonable that they should have the key disseminating role in their schools. They have a professional commitment to pass information on, and to refer teachers to information. Head teachers could therefore be used in a more positive way to step up the performances of their teachers through effective in-service programmes since teachers appear to be more influenced by them.

5.6.6: Circuit Supervisor Influence: The trend of influence depicted in Table 5.38 (Appendix 4) seem to reverse the level of influence of the circuit supervisors on the OMTs and OFTs in relation to the influence they experience of their head teachers as shown in Table 5.37 (Appendix 4). Whilst 18 % (5) of the OMTs and 20% (2) of OFTs feel very strongly that the circuit supervisors have influence on their teaching practices, the figure decreases with the YTs to 9% (2). From the

data, it can equally be inferred that circuit supervisors have a less strong influence on their teachers than that exerted by head teachers, but if used positively, it could lead to improved practices among teachers in the district.

5.6.7: Influence of Professional Associations: Table 5.39 (Appendix 4), suggests that professional associations seem to have little influence on the teaching practices of all the different categories of teachers in the research sample with the highest response being 15% for OMTs (4). The complete lack of influence of the professional associations on the OFTs could be as a result of them either not getting actively involved in the association's activities, or that the professional associations are less enthusiastic about female teachers involvement in its activities. It is also possible that all the teachers in the sample do not respect their professional association. This brings to question the role of professional associations in staff development opportunities for teachers in the district.

5.6.8: In-Service (INSET): INSET is seen as a necessary and potentially powerful part of the continual learning and professional development of teachers. However, from the data in Table 5.40, the influence of INSET impacting on teachers' teaching practices seem minimal and decreases among the different age groups. Whilst only 30% (3) of the OFTs say they have been influenced by INSET, the levels are even lower among the OMTs (21%) (6) and the YTs (4%) (1). Not only is there a dissatisfaction among teachers about INSET provision but also the question of how relevant these services are tailored to their individual needs in particular and to staff development prospects in the district in general.

An interesting finding is the constant levels of influence of 4% from both the pupils' parental and INSET influences on the YTs teaching practices. Even though, on the whole, and as indicated by the data set, the impact of INSET on teachers is very minimal, it is also clear from the data that the influence on teachers' teaching practices are less felt among OFTs than it is for OMTs and YTs. The situation could have arisen as a result of chance on a small sample

within the OFTs. It could, however, be implied from the teachers' responses that there are lesser opportunities for learning from INSET courses organised in the interest of the reform programme.

Table 5.40: Influence of In-service (INSET) on Teachers

Age and Sex	Influence of INSET on My Teaching				Total
	Not At All	Only A Little	Strongly	Very Strongly	
30 or Under (YTs)	8	14	1		23
	34.8%	60.9%	4.3%		100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)		22	3	3	28
		78.6%	10.7%	10.7%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	1	6	2	1	10
	10.0%	60.0%	20.0%	10.0%	100.0%
Total	9	42	6	4	61
	14.8%	68.9%	9.8%	6.6%	100.0%

5.6.9: Teachers' Participation in Extra-curricular activities with Pupils: The findings from the data in Table 5.41 (Appendix 4) indicate that 54% (15) of OMTs do engage with children in extra-curricular activities and are said to be influenced by those activities in their teaching practices. The engagement and influence level however decreases to 40% (4) among OFTs and 39% (9) among the YTs. The low engagement rate among OFTs and YTs is more likely to be a result of poor motivation (Table 5.12) among them. This result is equally likely to affect school activities organised out of class hours.

5.6.10: Regular Reading of Articles and Professional Journals: Considering the whole of the teachers' occupational life, it will be necessary for them to read new books, journals and articles relating to their field of learning. The illustration in Table 5.42 (Appendix 4) shows a 50% (5 each way) split of opinion among the OFTs who claim they do regularly read or do not read articles and professional journals. The percentage figures for both OMTs and YTs who read decreases to

45% (14) and 30% (7) respectively. It therefore seems from the data that YTs do not find reading articles and professional journals to be of any importance to their work. The explanation of the contrast with Table 5.36 is probably that YTs do not find professional journals useful but think that their own reading is useful. The situation is however different with the OMTs who do read articles and professional journals better than the YTs but less than the OFTs. The facts of the case on the ground are that, there are virtually no professional journals for basic schoolteachers in Ghana. Where they do exist, they appear too academic for the ordinary classroom teacher's understanding. Also with lower salaries, some teachers cannot even afford the national dailies to read. Coupled with this situation is the virtual lack of a reading culture among teachers in the country.

What becomes evident from the findings in section 5.6 is that

- Both the OFTs and YTs are highly influenced by their initial teacher training whilst the OMTs are least influenced;
- Elements such as teachers' own reading, teaching experience, head teachers, and circuit supervisors, all rank high among the different categories of teachers as having strong influences on their teaching practices;
- On the contrary, INSET, reading of articles and professional journals as well as professional associations, appear to have less influence on teachers' teaching practices.

5.7: INTERACTION WITH PARENTS AND PUPILS: This section deals with the interaction of parents and pupils with teachers and therefore examines the following: pupil and parental influences on teachers, issues of pupils' discipline and teacher-pupils relationships. The section demonstrates the need for more positive school-home relationships to be established between teachers and parents

to ensure good discipline among pupils for improved teaching and learning in schools. The older teachers have a strong desire, even in their difficult circumstances, to enhance their pupils' learning.

5.7.1: Pupils' Influence: As illustrated in Table 5.43 (Appendix 4), only 50% (5) of the OFTs seem to have their teaching practices influenced by their pupils as against higher levels of influence among the YTs (70%) (16) and OMTs (68%) (19). The lesser influence of the pupils on the OFTs could be attributed to the traditional notion among most Ghanaians that the child has to sit tight and to listen to the 'significant other' who is the teacher and who knows it all - a climate in which submission and obedience are rewarded rather than initiative and creativity.

5.7.2: Pupils' Parental Influence: Pupils' parental influences on teachers' teaching practices seem to be higher among both the OMTs (37%) (10) and OFTs (30%) (3) than it is for the YTs (13%) (3) as illustrated in Table 5.44. From the data, it is also clear that the pupils' parental influences on teachers are very minimal. This might be an indication that there is less parental or community involvement in school activities or that teachers are less keen in getting the community and parents to take part in school activities. Taken either way, parents have little influence on teachers' teaching practices in the district. There also seem to be no common forum at which both teachers and parents can discuss issues pertaining to the functioning of the schools or the pupils. This is further attested to by teachers' responses to the questions on how their efforts are recognised and how they are viewed by society at large as illustrated in Tables 5.18 and 5.19 respectively.

Table 5.44: Pupils' Parental Influence on Teachers

Age and Sex	My Pupils' Parents Influence My Teaching				Total
	Not At All	Only A Little	Strongly	Very Strongly	
30 or Under (YTs)	9	11	2	1	23
	39.1%	47.8%	8.7%	4.3%	100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	4	13	7	3	27
	14.8%	48.1%	25.9%	11.1%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	4	3	3		10
	40.0%	30.0%	30.0%		100.0%
Total	17	27	12	4	60
	28.3%	45.0%	20.0%	6.7%	100.0%

5.7.3: Easier Discipline: On issues regarding discipline of school pupils, 50% (5) of the OFTs said they do not find discipline easier among pupils than was the case five years earlier. The same low opinion on pupils' discipline is expressed by 37% (11) of OMTs and 30% (7) of the YTs (Table 5.45, Appendix 4). Although not very significant, the marked differences in responses among the different categories of teachers on pupils' disciplinary issues could be as a result of the differences in location of schools and their environmental contexts. There is also the possibility of poor parental attitudes to teachers in the respective communities. This is a further illustration of some kind of poor relationships that perhaps exists between teachers and pupils and teachers and parents as discussed in previous sections (Tables 5.43 & 5.44).

5.7.4: Teacher-Pupils Relationships: Table 5.46 shows that 90% each of the older teachers (OMTs & OFTs) enjoy to be with their school pupils each morning compared to only 61% (14) of the younger teachers (YTs).

Table 5.46: Teacher - Pupil Relationships

Age and Sex	Do You Enjoy Seeing Your Pupils each day?				Total
	Yes	No	Don't know	Not Applicable	
30 or Under (YTs)	14	5	3	1	23
	60.9%	21.7%	13.0%	4.3%	100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	28	1		2	31
	90.3%	3.2%		6.5%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	9	1			10
	90.0%	10.0%			100.0%
Total	51	7	3	3	64
	79.7%	10.9%	4.7%	4.7%	100.0%

In Section 5.7, it is clear that:

- All teachers in the sample claim their teaching practices are influenced by their pupils and therefore have more interaction with their pupils. However, parental influence on teachers is much lower.
- OFTs said they do not find discipline easier among pupils than was the case five years earlier. The same low opinion on pupils' discipline is expressed by 37% (11) of OMTs and 30% (7) of the YTs.
- There is also a positive pupil-teacher relationship among OFTs and OMTs.

The implication here is that teachers need, most of all, knowledge that helps them to address immediate challenges of the classroom environment. In this case, they need to understand children and to cope with and to manage their behaviour. Learning to control and manage pupils' often disruptive behaviour is the first difficulty of teachers in understanding what must be mastered if they are to be effective. School and home links are very important and parents can help their

children's learning much more effectively if they know what the school is trying to achieve and how they can help.

5.8: ATTITUDES TO REFORM: The fundamental issue for the MOE is to communicate about the rationale for the reform, and the teachers' role in it. This section therefore looks at how teachers got to know of the reform, who they think planned it, the interventions designed to effect the reforms, and the effects of the reform on them as teachers.

5.8.1: *Knowing about the FCUBE Reform:* The most important result is simply whether or not teachers had heard of the reform (i.e. row totals). From Table 5.47, it does appear that of the 64 teacher respondents, only 41 (64%) indicated one source or another through which the information regarding the reform was received. This leaves us with 23 respondents, (i.e. nearly 36%), who do not appear to have heard of the reform from any of the sources indicated in Table 5.47. From Table 5.47 (Appendix 4), just over half (51%) (21) of the 41 teacher respondents in the survey heard of the FCUBE reform from the mass media and that includes reading from the national dailies and listening to the radio and television. Out of that percentage, 60% (12) of the OMTs compared to 44% (8) and 33% (1) of the YTs and OFTs respectively heard about the FCUBE reform from the media.

However, 22% (9) of the 41 teacher respondents in the survey claim they heard of the reforms during their college days (ITT) as compared to only about 27% (11) of 41 teacher respondents who indicated knowing of the reform from official sources such as the Ministry of Education (17%) (7) and the Ghana Education Service (10%) (4); the bodies charged with the day-to-day functioning of the teaching service. What is important is the OFTs who claimed they never heard of the reforms from the MOE, but 1 in 3 claiming they heard of it from the GES. The evidence, overall, signifies that, of those who heard about the reform, many were informed by the media rather than by the official channels of communication such as in-service, initial teacher training, Ghana Education Service, and the MOE.

Official documents are basically from the Ministry of Education that include circulars and government policy statements. It could therefore be inferred from the overall results that the official channels of communication of educational issues to teachers has not been effectively and efficiently used.

It is also evident from the data that teachers turned to many different sources to determine the nature of the reform (e.g. state policy documents, newspapers, seminar etc). With teachers having more than one interpretation of the reform equally signals the diversity in meanings they hold about it, further requiring policy initiators to provide for the multiple perspectives on teachers concerns as they discuss implementation needs.

This does suggest that teachers in the district did not in the main have any opportunity to discuss the official reform document, and that this lack of access had important consequences for their understanding and interpretation of the reform. There was no proactive approach to making sure that information on the reforms was transmitted, relying as much on face-to-face means as on formal documents. It can therefore be inferred from the data presented that there was no useful conduit through which information could get out to all teachers in the district. This situation needs to be improved upon if teachers are to be adequately informed of government education policies. It should therefore be no surprise that a gap exists between the reforms and teachers' existing practices.

5.8.2: Initiating and Planning FCUBE Reform: The process followed in the design and diffusion of curriculum changes in Ghana has been a 'centre-periphery' model (Quansah, 2000), operating in a highly centralized system. First, the general principles for planning the new curriculum are decided by the Ministry of Education with CRDD and some Donor Partners.

From the data in Table 5.48 (Appendix 4), just over half (53%) (27) of the 51 teacher respondents think it is the MOE that initiated and planned the FCUBE

reform alone. Of this percentage, 65% (11) of YTs give the same opinion compared to 52% (13) of OMTs. Most of the remainder thought it was the GES/MOE together (35%) (18) and small minorities, GES alone (8%) (4) or the donors (4%) (2).

The teachers' perspectives appear to depict the general policy environment within which the reform exists. The different intervening groups at different levels of implementation have shaped the educational policy towards their goals with little regard to the overall effect of such policy fragmentation on the teachers in the district. The tug-and-pull of policy development and implementation among the various government agencies and donor partners seem to be creating a system where it is almost impossible to sustain systemically improved efforts towards the reform programme.

5.8.3: Interventions: About 81% (34) of the 42 teacher respondents claim to have an idea about interventions designed for the reform. The differences in teachers' responses regarding this claim, irrespective of age or gender, are not very significant. It is also evident from the data that about 10% (4) of the teacher sample think the interventions are not effective. Of these teachers, the OFTs (17%) (1) and OMTs (11%) (2) are more likely to think the interventions are less effective compared to 6% (1) among the YTs as illustrated in Table 5.49 (Appendix 4).

5.8.4: Effects on Teachers of the FCUBE Reform: As illustrated in Table 5.50 (Appendix 4), most teachers seem to know the effects the reform has on them as classroom teachers. Whilst nearly half (46%) (25) of the 54 teacher respondents identified 'too much work' as a factor that affects them, just over a quarter (26%) (14) said they lacked 'teaching resources.' There is also no significant difference between the groups of teachers regarding their responses to both workload and resource constraints. Time and discipline are only seen by YTs as factors affecting teachers under the reform programme receiving an equal response rating of 11%

(2) each. Textbooks as a constraining factor is expressed by only 1 of the 19 YTs but not seen as important to merit any comment. There is, however, a clear indication from the data that all teachers are concerned about the workload they have to deal with using inadequate teaching and learning materials, hence leading to pupils' indiscipline as a consequence of the combination of the two factors. Also important is the point that the situation is not all gloom since at least 1 of the 19 YTs thinks new knowledge is gained as a result of the introduction of the reform.

The issues raised in section 5.8 therefore point to:

- About one third of the sample appear not to have heard of the reform
- 'Too much workload' for all categories of teachers in the study.
- Teachers have a mixed perspective on who planned the reform although a clear majority identify the Ministry of Education. The official channels of communication (GES documents such as circulars and in-service courses) for the disseminating of government policies were not effectively and efficiently used to inform teachers about the introduction of the reform.
- A significant finding is the claim by both OMTs and OFTs that time and textbooks are not issues impacting on them as teachers.

5.9: RELEVANCE OF STAFF DEVELOPMENT AND IN-SERVICE:

INSET is one of a range of professional development opportunities available to teachers. This section therefore examines teachers' experiences of the nature of INSET courses provided to help them implement the FCUBE reform. The open-ended questions in this section of the study were phrased in such a way that a number of answers were possible. It must be noted, however, that in some cases, no responses were provided by some of the teachers. The figures quoted for the

respective open-ended questions therefore correspond with the number of teachers who provided responses.

The data suggests that the present INSET provided for teachers in this study varies greatly from school to school, and that the factors that mainly account for these variations are related to the kind and degree of support teachers receive in their schools. Teachers' responses in this section equally reflect the variation in their responses regarding the planning of the FCUBE reform as stated in Section 5.8 of this chapter. The findings show that teachers have a very strong desire for opportunities for professional development. The results suggest teachers are eager to have the opportunity to share ideas and learn new skills through INSET. This sub-section deals with open-ended questions and data are therefore based on the specific number of teachers making responses from each of the three categories.

5.9.1: INSET: Right or Choice: In response to the question 'should in-service be a right or a choice', a majority of the different cohort of teachers think INSET should be a right and not a choice even though there is no significant difference between the responses of the YTs and the OMTs as shown in Table 5.51 (Appendix 4).

5.9.2: Venue for INSET: The suggested places for the organization of in-service programmes varied among the different cohort of teachers. 44% (28) of the 63 teacher respondents suggested INSET should be organised in schools. Of this percentage, 70% (7) of the OFTs and 57% (13) of the YTs considered schools are better places for INSET. The circuit level also attracted responses from both the OMTs (40%) (12) and YTs (26%) (6) but nil response from the OFTs as shown in Table 5.52.

Table 5.52: Venue of INSET

Suggested Venues for INSET						
Age & Sex	Circuit Level	School Level	Teachers' Resource Centre	ITT Colleges	District Level	Total
30 or Under (YTs)	6	13			4	23
	26.1%	56.5%			17.4%	100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	12	8	6	1	3	30
	40.0%	26.7%	20.0%	3.3%	10.0%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)		7	1	1	1	10
		70.0%	10.0%	10.0%	10.0%	100.0%
Total	18	28	7	2	8	63
	28.6%	44.4%	11.1%	3.2%	12.7%	100.0%

The suggestions for organizing INSET at both the school and circuit levels seem to reflect the need for teachers to have discussions among themselves in relation to the context in which they work. This depicts teachers' desire to have a greater participation at INSET than would be the case if these courses were organized at the district wide level. My field notes however suggests two possible reasons for some teachers preference to have INSET at the circuit level: i) the payment of travel and overnight claims to workshop participants to boost their low salaries; and ii) to avoid the often bureaucratic monitoring by circuit supervisors who tend to criticise teachers work instead of discussing with them their difficulties and pedagogical support needs on such visits. The findings of this study therefore corroborate earlier findings by Fobih et al (1999).

From the overall responses, it is most striking that teachers have distanced themselves from the teacher training college in which most of them in the district were trained. This also suggests that there is no interaction between the tutors of the training college with serving teachers once they graduate and are working. It is also an indication that the ITTs are not seen as contributing positively to teachers' professional needs since what they are taught in college sometimes does not help them in their daily working lives in schools.

5.9.3: Period of INSET: Regarding the period suitable for organising INSET, responses equally varied with a significant proportion of the YTs (13%) (3) saying INSET should be organised any time new changes in the education system are advocated. This appears to signal the challenges they face with the continuous flow of new policies and their desire to catch up with newly pronounced programmes. However, none of the OFTs see any new changes in the education system as calling for INSET courses.

Most of the teachers (60%) (37) also feel it would be most appropriate to organise INSET during the long vacation, suggesting that teachers wish for more time to enable them engage in these programmes for more meaningful interaction and discussion without undue absence from school. Also, whilst 80% (8) of the OFTs favour INSET on termly basis, 86% (25) of the OMTs rather think INSET should be organised only during the long vacation period. The request for frequent INSET might be because teachers want to be paid travelling and overnight allowances for attending programmes in the town centre and to escape from the family worries at home. The teachers' responses are illustrated in Table 5.53 below.

Table 5.53: Period of INSET

Suggested Periods for INSET				
Age & Sex	Long Vacation	Times of Changes	Each Term	Total
30 or Under (YTs)	10	3	10	23
	43.5%	13.0%	43.5%	100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	25	1	3	29
	86.2%	3.4%	10.3%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	2		8	10
	20.0%		80.0%	100.0%
Total	37	4	21	62
	59.7%	6.5%	33.9%	100.0%

5.9.4: Authority to define INSET: On who should define INSET, over half (59%) (37) the number of teachers in the sample suggested it should be the Ministry of Education in collaboration with the Ghana Education Service. OMTs hold a stronger view in support for the MOE and GES 80% (24) compared to 48% (11) of the YTs and 20% (2) of OFTs as shown Table 5.54 below. It is interesting that 21% (13) of all categories of teachers said that teachers themselves should be responsible in defining their INSET programmes. YTs strongly supported this idea (35%) (8) with almost 17% (5) of the OMTs and none of the OFTs.

Table 5.54: Definition of INSET

Authority To Define INSET					
Age & Sex	MOE/GES	Circuit Supervisors	Teachers	Head teachers	Total
Under 30 (YTs)	11	2	8	2	23
	47.8%	8.7%	34.8%	8.7%	100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	24	1	5		30
	80.0%	3.3%	16.7%		100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	2	1		7	10
	20.0%	10.0%		70.0%	100.0%
Total	37	4	13	9	63
	58.7%	6.3%	20.6%	14.3%	100.0%

Some of the reasons given by teachers for their choice of the MOE and GES to organise INSET included the following:

Because they know much about the programme and are also abreast with it (5);

Since they draw the policies and will therefore know how to go about what they want of teachers to learn and to do (2);

To update the teachers and promote quality teaching and learning because the service knows its shortcomings and where they exist (1);

Since they are the policy makers and they are the resource personnel (3);

They are the two bodies for education issues in the country and have the necessary funding to do so (6);

They are the right people once education in the country is concerned (2).

From the data, it is not surprising but clear that teachers expect to draw upon the MOE/GES expertise and knowledge during a structured professional development course to meet the many needs and stimulating ideas and practices they encounter. It is also to help them know something not known before and to extend their repertoire of understanding, attitudes and skills. Drawing on the expertise of the MOE and GES it is more likely that teachers will be able to formulate their thinking a little more coherently than before and to feel empowered to develop practices with more confidence, insight and commitment with their strong beliefs in the authority and hierarchical order of the education service.

For some of the teachers who opted for Circuit Supervisors to take charge of INSET in the district, the following reasons were given:

Because they do the supervision in the district, they can evaluate the kind of INSET needed for staff development of teachers in the district (9);

Because when authority or information flows from the top hierarchy to the lower level before the implementers receive it, distortions are likely to occur or the information may be filtered (3);

Since each district has its own peculiar problems, hence the need to meet teachers requirements in terms of training (5); and

Since they know teachers should be abreast with the programme's objectives to help develop their schools (2).

The 14% (9) of teachers who suggested INSET should be defined by head teachers advanced the following reasons to back their choice. That,

He/she is the supervisor of teachers in the school setting (5);

Only the head teacher understands the problems of teachers in his/her school (3);

Since they are in daily contact with the teachers and thus know their problems (2);

Because there must be effective teaching and learning in all schools under the supervision of the head teacher (3);

To help improve upon effective teaching and learning and to ensure effective monitoring of classroom work (2);

Since teachers needs may only be limited to a particular school (1); and

Due to limited resources to the schools and teachers (1).

21 percent (13) of the sample, however, held the view that, teachers should be responsible to define INSET programmes since they are the implementers of policies, and that they directly relate to their pupils and equally know their own strengths and weaknesses.

Overall, teachers varied in their responses to the issues arising from the initiation and running of INSET programmes. This seems to be as a result of the varied nature of policy implementation processes prevalent and as experienced by teachers in the district. From the responses as outlined above, it is the contention of the researcher that the organizational structure within which policy trickles to the classroom level seem to sign off teachers' autonomy to a higher authority due

to the existing hierarchical structures that seem to suggest that those in higher positions know it all and better too.

It is also evident from the 21% (13) response rate among teachers in favour of teachers themselves having to define their own INSET needs, (as against a high percentage (59%) (37) in favour of the MOE and GES defining their INSET needs) suggests that teachers come with a convincing feeling that what is inside them (personal experiences) is not valid because it is '*only personal*' to them. They appear to feel that others' visions and experiences are much better than their own. They have therefore learnt to see the '*expert*' outside but deny that there may be a potential '*expert*' within. Somewhere, somehow, (probably at school when they were young), they have been taught to devalue their inner voice, their own experience, and their own hard-earned insights about their practices in schools. The imposition on teachers and schools of educational reform from 'multiple structures of outside expertise' in the shaping of teachers and schools may be exacerbating.

5.9.5: School Supervision: Supervision, as used in this section, refers to the process of interaction in which an individual or individuals work with teachers to improve instruction with the ultimate goal of improving upon pupil learning as stated in sections 3.3.1.4 and 3.3.1.5 in chapter three. The achievement of this goal may however involve changing teacher behaviour, modifying curriculum, and/or restructuring the learning environment. Supervision then is a process that involves not only administrators as they work with others to improve the instruction in their schools, but which also involves personnel who develop curricula (coordinators, school heads, etc).

On the issue regarding supervision in schools, there is no significant difference among the various categories of teachers in their acknowledging its existence. This is attested to by the 97% (62) response rate among all teachers as illustrated

in Table 5.55 (Appendix 4). Only 20% (2) of the OFTs said they did not have supervision in their schools.

Regarding the form of supervision experienced in schools by teachers (Table 5.56 (Appendix 4), 57% (35) claim that supervision is mainly in the form of routine observation of what they do in classrooms. 39 percent (24) however claim supervision takes the form of vetting of lesson notes, with an insignificant percentage of them saying supervision takes the form of checking regular attendance of teachers (2%) (1) and for purposes of promotion (2%) (1).

The results of this study show that inspection is carried out in two different areas such as school administration and classroom teaching. During administration inspection, the head teacher and teachers are assessed regarding the school administration process. The scope of this administration process is limited to the school and its context. For classroom teaching inspection, circuit supervisors carry out classroom observations during which teachers' instructional skills, their plans, and the effects of the teacher upon classroom activities are evaluated. This is attested to by the responses of some teachers to the open-ended question regarding the form that supervision takes in schools:

Vetting of lesson notes by head teacher and also circuit supervisors visit to inspect teachers work and to advise them on current issues (7);

Head teachers vetting notebooks and registers and paying regular visits to classrooms to inspect teachers' work (3);

Inspection of attendance registers, cumulative records of pupils and continuous assessment forms (2);

Circuit supervisors coming to schools to check on teacher attendance in the schools to make sure that teachers are always punctual and doing their normal

duties and also see to it that teachers are using the correct methods in teaching and preparing their lesson notes weekly (3);

Classroom supervision which include lesson notes, registers, continuous assessment records, cumulative records, general efficiency and pedagogy (2);

Visits by officials of the GES in the district to acquaint themselves with activities going on in schools (1).

Historically, school supervisors (inspectors) fulfilled their supervisory role by giving directions, checking compliance with prescribed teaching techniques, and evaluating instructional effectiveness. Tasks consisted of improvement of the teaching act (classroom visits, directed teaching, demonstration teaching, and development of standards for self-improvement), the improvement of teachers in-service and the selection and organization of subject matter. The list ended with testing and measuring, and the rating of teachers.

The inner knowledge, judgment and wisdom of the professional teacher are not seen as one of the greatest resources available in the district for professional development. In the more remote areas, teachers are few and the organization of staff development through regular interaction between teachers and circuit supervisors in the rural areas become very difficult due to insufficient logistics.

5.10: STAFF DEVELOPMENT: All teachers in the sample have a strong feeling of dissatisfaction regarding staff development and individual teacher in-service provision. (Table 5.57, Appendix 4), with 78% (18) of the YTs being dissatisfied or (22% (5) very dissatisfied. However, the rate of dissatisfaction is high even among the older teachers at 80% (8) and 79% (23) respectively for the OFTs and OMTs. The YTs are therefore more likely not to have had the opportunity for staff development or have not had their individual needs catered for at any organised in-service courses offered in the district. It could also be that

they do not think any of the courses offered at in-service are of any use to them. The results also signify that only a small proportion of teachers (13%) (8) feel satisfied with in-service programmes relevant to their needs, or alternatively, some teachers have not yet gotten round to learning from INSET. It also shows that professional development opportunities are in short supply and are often not designed with the intention of achieving coverage of the whole teacher sample. This leaves teachers with no opportunity to share ideas and to learn new skills in short courses or meetings, on-the-job support, or to extend the range of techniques and methods in their professional practice.

Table 5.57: Relevance Of Staff Development & In-service Training Needs

Age & Sex	Relevance of INSET To Teachers' Needs			Total
	Very Dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	
30 or Under (YTs)	5	18		23
	21.7%	78.3%		100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	1	22	6	29
	3.4%	75.9%	20.7%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	1	7	2	10
	10.0%	70.0%	20.0%	100.0%
Total	7	47	8	62
	11.3%	75.8%	12.9%	100.0%

One-shot in-services or unrelated holiday courses at any chosen venue or school in the district is still the norm to date for the professional development of teachers. These are seen to be of limited value to teachers in the district. The idea that teacher knowledge is critical for educational improvement has little currency in the district. There is still the continuing tradition of policy-makers searching for the right set of test prescriptions, textbook adoptions, and curriculum directives packaged and mandated to guide teachers' practices in schools. More recent efforts by the Ghana Education Service and the donor partners do not differ from the past strategies that did not consider how ideas would make it from the Ministry of Education to the classroom level. Policymakers seem increasingly not to realise

that regulations cannot transform schools, and that only teachers, in collaboration with parents and administrators, can do that.

It appears from the results that the respondents have more concerns on the need for in-service courses. This means that the in-service training policy for teachers in the district in this study only meets the conditions of the Ministry of Education, through the Ghana Education Service, which in turn imposes in-service training policy in a limited or very limited way. It therefore seems justified to conclude that any in-service training policy in the district has not yet developed enough. In the respondents' opinion, not one school has effectively developed an in-service training policy. In a more general sense, we could say that these schools do not yet have an adequate policy to develop the further professionalisation of teachers.

A pattern of intervention, control and more control can be seen in the arrangements for the in-service development of teachers in the district. There seem to be no significant freedom for teachers to determine their professional development needs, and are thus forced to bow to a system of regulation, prescription and inspection. The circuit supervisors check the compliance culture where requirements are dictated from the centre for conformity. In the current structure, a hierarchical line of authority (i.e. from the MOE through to Regional Education Officers, District Education Officers, Head Teachers and then Classroom teachers) is established to ensure that the objectives of the reform are followed at the various levels.

Decisions in bureaucracies are made based on hierarchies of authority. Field notes show that teachers feel intimidated about introducing change because of their low status. Teachers continue to do what they have been authorised to do within the teaching and learning situation in their respective schools. Each level in the hierarchy defers to the level above it for guidance and approval. Teachers go into schools that come to be bureaucracies with a hierarchy that culminates with the district director who is responsive to a higher authority at the different levels of

the educational structure. Within this context, teachers wait to be told what to do. They come to view their interest as the interest of the Ministry of Education. They have little experience participating in discussions or interactions across schools and with colleagues. They are not able to design work tasks so that their efforts contribute harmoniously to those of all others involved in the same or similar process. The hierarchical nature of the education system in the district, as elsewhere in the country, tends to drive out initiative, creativity, ownership, or a system perspective.

Historically, most decisions affecting schools have been made in a top-down fashion. Selection of textbooks, curriculum development, and decisions concerning instructional strategies and assessment practices have been, and still are, under the control of the Ministry of Education with little input from teachers. An atmosphere of control has created a heavy reliance on rules and regulations in schools. The bureaucratic principle of impersonality of relationships has also been evident in the educational system.

The summary of section 5.10 is that:

- There is a high level of dissatisfaction (76%) (47) among teachers regarding staff development and in-service needs. The dissatisfaction rates are higher among the YTs followed by both the OMTs and OFTs at much lower levels.
- On the whole, fewer teachers in the study sample were exposed to in-service of any kind under the reforms, and those few who attended, never found them tailored to their needs.

5.11: CONCLUSIONS: In this section I draw out major themes which emerged from the questionnaire responses.

Teacher Characteristics: The study sample varied in age and gender and was grouped into younger teachers (YTs) who are aged below 30 years and predominantly male, older male teachers (OMTs) and older female teachers (OFTs), aged above 30 years. These differences in age and gender may be seen to account for a difference in the receptivity of the different categories of teachers to the reforms that relates to their initial teacher training and to the amount of their teaching experience. This has clear implications for policy and the professional development of teachers.

Teachers' views of Teaching: All the teachers in the study sample view teaching as a stressful, demoralising, less rewarding and time consuming job with less opportunities for career advancement. They appear united by a sense that recent innovations had increased the complexity of their workloads, with a resultant negative impact on their motivation since they are poorly paid, less respected, and therefore experience a low social status among the public. Their work pressure appears to be aggravated by the lack of teaching and learning resources and the weak support they receive. Their views, however, vary in terms of their differences in age, gender, teaching experience, and the context of their working environment, with the older teachers more enthusiastic about their teaching and therefore more likely to stay for life in the profession, whilst the younger teachers express less enthusiasm and are more likely to leave the profession in a much shorter time.

The possible turnover of younger teachers and their departure from teaching is more likely to cause gaps in schools more especially with the loss of experience acquired by those leaving the field. This is worrying and has implications for future educational planning in terms of teacher recruitment, attrition and retention.

Influences on Teachers' Teaching Practices: There appears to be a general agreement among the three categories of teachers that their work practices are influenced largely by their own reading and teaching practices, their head teachers

and circuit supervisors as well as their classroom pupils, but less influenced by activities of their professional association, INSET and the influence of professional articles or journals. There is however a variation among the different age groups on the influence of their initial teacher training programmes on their teaching practices since the older teachers were trained at a different period and route prior to the reform in 1996. These findings therefore have implications for individual teacher learning and staff development needs.

Teacher Collaboration: All three categories of teachers appear to have a positive image and view about their own influences on one another since they seem to be working in mutual friendship in their respective school environments. This cordial and positive situation has implications for encouraging the creation of discussion groups for educational purposes such as sharing ideas and experiences on improving teaching and learning and on policy issues.

Involvement in School decision-making process: Gender, seniority in age and number of years of teaching experience appear to be the determining factors for involving teachers in school decision-making processes. In this light, the older female teachers feel dissatisfied with their role in the decision-making process whilst the reverse is true for the male teachers. Even though the male teachers, on the average, have a better say in school decision-making, the younger teachers, predominantly male in this study, have less participation in this function than their older male colleagues since they are considered relatively inexperienced due to their lesser number of years of teaching experience in relation to their young age. This has implications for gender related issues in school administration as well as the authority and hierarchical order of the education service in relation to the overall development of a sense of empowerment for individual teachers to build and focus on their confidence, insight and commitment to work.

Attitude to Reform: A gap appears to exist between teachers' knowledge of the reforms and their existing practices, since about a third of the teacher sample from

the questionnaire study appear not to have heard of the reforms. Of those who had heard about the reforms the information came from multiple sources, thus signalling diverse interpretations and meanings associated with them. This has seemingly created a system where information about the reform has not been coherently and systematically communicated to teachers as implementers. These varied sources of information and interpretations therefore have implications for the MOE's effective and efficient use of the official channels of communication to teachers.

Relevance of Staff Development and INSET: There was an overall expression of high levels of interest by all three categories of teachers for staff development through INSET. However, only a few of the teachers in the study sample had exposure to a kind of INSET and further this was considered by those who attended as not tailored to their needs. INSET in general varied across the range of schools in the district. The factors accounting for these variations appear to be related to the influences of the kind and degree of support teachers received from the multiple interventions and structures of outside expertise that equally varied in their nature and processes of implementation procedures and focus. These have overall implications for the MOE's policy on staff development and INSET provision to teachers country-wide.

The findings of the questionnaire data led to the formulation of the following themes: conditions of teaching; teaching and learning resources; teacher autonomy versus decision-making; teacher pre and in-service training; collaboration and collegiality; channels of communication; and staff development - all of which formed the basis of the two sets of semi-structured interviews to help me capture in-depth the views of the teachers involved in the research. Chapter 6 therefore presents the interview data and adds depth to the results of the questionnaire data. The evidence from the questionnaires appear to suggest there are serious implications for the FCUBE reform, teacher recruitment, retention and training policies as well as INSET and career development needs of teachers.

CHAPTER SIX: INTERVIEW FINDINGS

6.0: INTRODUCTION: This chapter reports on the two sets of interviews conducted with the participants in the study and develops brief stylized vignettes of the teachers.

Table 6.1: Periods of Interviews

Time Frame	Cohort of Interviews Conducted
March – April 2001	5 Male Teachers (4 classroom teachers plus a Head teacher) 2 Female classroom teachers
January – February 2003	Same cohort of teachers (as stated above) plus a Circuit Supervisor

The eight participants (5 male and 2 female teachers plus a male circuit supervisor) have been given fictitious names: the male teachers are Balua, Alua, Adiga, Tanko and Adamu, and the females are Kapio and Abaa. Mr. Baani is one of six circuit officers in the district. Of the five male classroom teachers, Adiga plays a dual role of a head teacher and a classroom teacher combining administration and full time teaching. The vignettes, whilst remaining faithful to the participants, are stylized in that I have endeavoured to present a coherent story for each person. In that case, they are also stereotypical participants of the range of teachers in disadvantaged areas in Ghana such as Navrongo. This approach has been adopted in order for the reader to understand the teachers more holistically and to appreciate the complexity of their experiences as they strive to implement the FCUBE reform programme in their respective schools in different locations in the district under study.

As noted (chapter 4, section 4.6), variables of age, gender, and school location were considered in the choice of teachers for the interviews. The 7 teachers whose interviews form the basis for this research were therefore purposively selected to ensure diversity in terms of the type of schools they taught in, their seniority and

experience, and willingness to participate in the research. A suitable balance between male and female teachers, teaching in either disadvantaged rural, village or town schools was also made (see Table 6.2 below).

All the teachers interviewed discussed their experiences of teaching and learning and how they were developing their classroom perspective in the FCUBE reform programme. In telling their stories, they focused on portraying the insider's view of what is important and on reporting their personal experiences teaching under the reform. The participants' beliefs about teaching and learning, their personal and professional support needs, factors enabling and or constraining their involvement in the reform, and their suggestions for improving teachers' professional development are discussed.

Table 6.2: Profiles of Interviewed Sample Teachers

Name	Age & Gender	Class Taught	Years of Teaching	Qualification	Status	School Location
Balua	45 (M)	5	12+	'A' 4 Year	Class Teacher	Rural
Alua	35 (M)	6	10+	'A' 4 Year	Class Teacher	Rural
Adiga	56 (M)	6	30+	Cert 'B' Plus 'A' 4 Year	Head Teacher	Village
Tanko	28 (M)	5	5+	Post Sec Certificate	Class Teacher	Village
Kapio	48 (F)	4	15+	'A' 4 Year	Class Teacher	Town
Abaa	42 (F)	4	12+	'A' 4 Year	Assistant Headteacher	Town
Adamu	49 (M)	6	28+	Cert 'B' Plus 'A' 4 Year	Assistant Headteacher	Town

The stylized portraits and the verbatim quotes are derived from both interview studies. The follow-up interviews enabled me to cross-check my original findings and to see whether the teachers' views had changed in the two year period. These views appeared not to have changed.

6.1 THE SAVANA-STONE PRIMARY SCHOOLS: Mr. Balua and Mr. Alua teach in two different primary schools which are located in a rural farming community of Basisam in the district under study. Both are teachers of considerable experience. Balua, a primary five teacher, has taught for more than twelve years, and Alua, who teaches primary six, has also been in teaching for more than ten years. Although Balua and Alua teach but less than a kilometre apart from each other, their individual responses to the FCUBE reform reveal that they have had different experiences and exposure to its implementation.

Both schools' appearances reflect corrugated-roofed structures with some classrooms without windows. Class sizes are moderate and Balua and Alua each have fewer than 40 pupils. Pupils in the schools come from the working families in the farming community and are little motivated to attend school. Extracts from field notes from informal conversations with some parents in the area, indicated the willingness on their part to support teachers but they have low expectations of their children's abilities. Both schools in Basisam rural area are small by the district's standards (350 pupils on average for a school in the district). Unfortunately, and at the time of the first interviews in March-April 2001, neither teacher had yet received the revised FCUBE reform curriculum or the accompanying proposed textbooks two years earlier. There was however, one copy of the syllabus that was shared by all six teachers in each of the two schools.

6.1.1: Mr. Balua Goes It Alone: In this portrait the focus is on how Balua, 45 years of age, responds to the FCUBE reform objective of improving upon teaching and learning. More specifically, the section examines how Balua views the FCUBE reform in relation to his past practice. As Balua recounted his

experiences and explained,

"I got to know of the FCUBE reform through radio announcements about the new structure of the education system and also from the series of awareness raising meetings we had with the Ghana Education Service at the district level. I think at the time, the Ghana National Association of Teachers was against the idea, saying it was too early to be introduced and that time should be given to teachers to prepare for it."

Balua stressed further that the teachers' union was not listened to by the government but rather criticised as being subversive of the policy when he intimated that,

"The union was sidelined by the government but both sides continued to put forward various arguments in the press for and against the introduction of the reform. I remember some parents also saying their children were to be given low level education to be carpenters, bricklayers etc."

Asked what his personal opinion was at the time, he replied:

"If the union could not fight for us, what could I do as an individual? We teachers discussed these things among ourselves in the school but feel there is nothing we can do but to follow the government directives."

Balua's response seems to depict a sense of helplessness in the discharge of his duty and following government directives; a feeling that run through most teachers in the district as observed in the field notes.

On the issue of his role in improving upon teaching and learning before the introduction of the reform, he intimated that:

"I was only doing what I was taught and what the situation demanded at the time."

In those days, it was all skills and I really got into those skills." Balua seem to be reflecting on his past experiences as a student trainee and following the footsteps of his former teachers.

Asked how he conducts his lessons with the introduction of the reform, Balua defined his practice in teaching mathematics in this way:

"For instance, in maths, I review the previous day's lesson before I start my new lesson. I work through a few problems on the blackboard and ask for questions. I set the sums and the pupils sit in silence and work individually, asking and seeking help only from me. At the end of the lesson I collect their books and mark them". He sees himself as the only source of knowledge and confident in his approach to his work.

Balua admits he follows religiously the teachers' guide which defines the instruction to be followed:

"I start from the first page of the textbook and proceed through the units in their order and try to finish the book by the end of the year".

Balua views mathematics as a series of rules and procedures, practising addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division. Like many primary school teachers in the district, he admitted he has no background beyond introductory mathematics.

"My knowledge of mathematics is not good enough. I did not like maths when I was in school and I guess my teachers did not properly teach it. Maybe they also did not like the subject, I think. But now, I have to teach it according to the rules"

He indicated having taken a few in-service courses prior to the launch of the reform that prepared him to teach mathematics in its routine form. With the introduction of the reform, he had an opportunity to attend a workshop organised by the Link Project facilitators and he had this to say.

"When we attended the Link Project workshop, we were given some lessons on planning and teaching maths which was quite helpful even though I still think there is more to be done. You suddenly find you have no idea what to do next especially in topics you did not like when you were a student yourself." Balua admits his dislike for some topics in mathematics during his early years as a student hence his limited knowledge in the subject as a whole. During the follow-up interviews in January-February 2003, Balua intimated that follow up activities by the Link project facilitators to his school (after their in-service courses) could have made a difference in helping him to cope with his dilemma.

As a reminder to the reader of this thesis, 'project schools' (chapter two section 2.4) in the district are a cluster of fewer schools (not more than 5) chosen by donor partners and the district education office to trial out some of the interventions designed by donors in an attempt to improve upon teaching and learning. The project schools are therefore given basic teaching and learning resources and the teachers in those schools are given some form of in-service courses to be able to teach according to the dictates of the interventions of the reform.

The revised curriculum with the introduction of the FCUBE reform, as Balua understands, promotes a different view of mathematics and what pupils should know about the subject.

"The new approaches that we are told about seem to be those that can really contribute to pupils learning if used well. There is the potential for improvement in both teaching and learning in our schools."

That view stresses the conceptual nature of mathematics under the FCUBE reform. To him embracing the revised mathematics curriculum meant confronting his weak subject matter knowledge and radical new approaches to teaching and learning.

"Pupils need to understand the concept of things", he said, "and be able to think through a problem, and to have different strategies to work on problems."

His weak background in mathematics is quite problematic because he must learn as much about the subject matter of mathematics as about teaching and learning mathematics. Finding the time and energy to learn these things and to plan and deliver a different kind of mathematics instruction is also difficult more especially that resources in his school are scarce.

"As at now we have only one copy of the new syllabus and which we have to share among six of us. You have to wait for somebody to finish copying out what he or she wants before you get it. This can be time consuming; you know. We are still using the old textbooks that have not changed. Sometimes you cannot get an example from the textbook to teach what is in the new syllabus."

Such teaching represents standard fare in primary school classrooms across the district and more generally in disadvantaged schools across the country. The textbook continues to be the centre of much of Balua's instruction. He sees a few topics or activities to pose problems, but is willing to use the textbook as an important piece of his mathematics instruction. He goes on to explain that:

"I believe that mixing both new and old methods can help pupils to learn and teachers to teach better if it is used in a different way than it is used today."

The elements of traditional practice still bracket his mathematics lessons, but in-between he tries to introduce a range of activities about the revised curriculum.

"In previous years, I had so much freedom, I did what I wanted ... I mean I had the initiative and my previous headteacher told me to 'go ahead, you know better your class' Now things are different. I am held back." Upon further interrogation, he admits being held back due to his limited knowledge in the new approaches to

teaching the revised curriculum. He does not feel competent enough as before to continue to teach, as was the case previously.

Balua seems to have taken pride in his ability to manage a wide array of routines in his school with his pupils quiet and on track with his teaching and learning strategies, but personal and professional needs seem to drive Balua's current interest in the FCUBE reform if he is to be able to cope with the new kind of teaching advocated.

"I also think we need help from the circuit supervisors and the facilitators, but we are not particularly helped by them. I think they feel we are all qualified teachers and therefore we have the basic knowledge ... and technical problems should not bother them."

Balua would appear to be a reformer's dream. He hears the call to reform and is trying to change his teaching and learning strategies. He learns about and tries new instructional approaches. Changes are less obvious and fragile, but rather than a failure, this example illustrates the complex dilemma in Balua's responses to the FCUBE reform.

If Balua represents the success or failure of reforms in rural environments, his story also illustrates the difficult road older teachers (i.e. especially those who trained at his time and under similar circumstances) travel whilst embarking on implementing educational reform policies. He has learned from in-service, yet he is unsure of what he knows and what more he needs to learn. He is convinced the FCUBE reform offers possibilities in improving teaching and learning in schools, yet he worries about realising them. He has considerable classroom autonomy, yet he feels his efforts go misunderstood and unsupported. Balua pushes on as he does so feeling alone and uncertain.

The point is not that Balua refuses to reexamine his beliefs about teaching and learning. In fact, he seems to be doing just that. The appearance of parallel skills and reform-minded approaches implies that Balua is still negotiating between old and new practices.

Some of the problems Balua faces seem to apply to older teachers with similar experiences, and who, from the questionnaire findings, indicated the inadequacy of in-service training courses to meet their needs and the lack of resources for teaching and learning in schools.

Balua responds to the reforms in the school context: The discussion thus far has considered Balua's response to the FCUBE reform in the context of his pre-existing practice. Changes are occurring in both his day-to-day instruction and in his conceptions of subject matter, teaching, and learning. In making these changes, however, he must manage factors inside and outside his classroom that are not favourable. Some factors support the changes Balua is working towards, others do not. In either event, understanding how Balua responds to the reforms requires an accounting of those factors.

One set of factors are the school rhythms. These factors - time constraints, content coverage, and assessment pressures - tend to be common concerns across teachers and are part of the context of teaching in schools. Balua also felt pressed for time in covering the old textbook in use since his school does not have the proposed new textbooks. Adopting the new practices to the old textbook meant that he could no longer plan his lessons with the precision he once did. Introducing the newly proposed methodologies that involve more complex and engaging assignments and activities, opening up discussion, and providing opportunities to write, just takes more of his time than the teaching of lessons based on transmitting skills that he was used to.

"The more time I allow them to discuss ideas the less teaching time I have left,

and so I am really struggling within myself. We are not where we should be in the textbooks right now. We have to get through so much material and we are behind."

Even though time as a constraint facing teachers did not seem a problem with older female teachers as indicated in the questionnaire results, it surely was a problem with older and younger teachers. The situation is made clearer by Balua's response and reaction to the curriculum in use and the proposed teaching and learning methods with the reforms. Balua therefore sees time pressures exacerbating the rub between covering old content and teaching in new ways. Concerns about what to teach are tied to assessment. While Balua is committed to fundamental changes in his teaching practice, he knows the kind of teaching the reforms espouse is not well measured by skill-based assessments. The national test seems hostile to the kind of teaching and learning Balua is practicing.

Summary: Balua is a teacher with a mission. He embraces the FCUBE reforms, seeks opportunities to learn, pushes changes in his daily practice, and reexamines his basic beliefs. However, he does not manage to cope with the reform practices. Variations emerge in his teaching practices and those variations have two implications. One is that his varied response to the reform might seem related, but as this case illustrates, his knowledge, experience, and motivation can differ across time. The second conclusion is that, although outside influences are obvious, Balua's inner resources guide his response. As he attempts to make changes from the traditional to constructivist approaches, he faces an enormous challenge of unlearning what he was taught and to learn something new. It would be one thing if the difference were limited to new instructional techniques. In Balua's view, it isn't. Instead, constructivist approaches involve changes in his basic beliefs about teaching and learning. Meeting these demands head-on requires a strong will and commitment because not only does he feel the uncertainty and doubt associated with learning new things and trying new practices, he does so in an environment that is ambivalent at best.

From the questionnaire results, older male teachers felt stressed due to the heavy workloads and time constraints with which they have to meet the curriculum requirements. They also felt less motivated in the wake of less support for their work from the innovators. Balua's feeling on the whole, therefore seem to reflect the general concerns common among older teachers in the study area.

6.1.2: A Paradox of Talk and Practice: The Case of Mr. Alua

Less than a kilometre away from Balua, Alua also hears the call to the FCUBE reform programme. He is 35 years of age and has been teaching for ten years since his qualification as a post secondary certificate 'A' teacher. He came to teach in his present school after seven years service in a different rural school, and is currently teaching primary class six.

Alua alleged he learned of the reform from the Ministry of Education through the Ghana Education Service and Donor agencies at the district level. He encountered the new education policy at an in-service training course with the launch of the reform programme at its initial stages in 1990, the only exposure he has had to in-service in the district. Prior to the reforms, he attended a few workshops on the teaching of mathematics and science. He reports learning the language of reform, but little new, however. He does not see the reform as revolutionary and as he said,

"It all fits my thinking and justifies what I had been doing all along. I think teachers have a rich resource about which trainers need to use than coming in to tell us everything we need to know." Blurring the distinction between old and new approaches, he alleges that he already knows what he needs and argues that reformers, in effect, have finally caught up to what he has taught and done all along.

"The different approaches to teaching, the way of teaching from the teacher's desk ... or the group work ... all give other dimensions to that teaching one should

expect."

Since the introduction of the reforms, his interest seems faded and he pursues no other opportunities to learn about the reform activities and strategies. He claims to be making no substantive changes because he sees little change.

"In the first few years ... some courses were just a repetition of college stuff. It was still fresh in our minds, anyway, ... we went along to several courses and that was entirely repetition. Perhaps for a few years you don't need new ideas."

Alua, cynically, intends to be different. *"We are trying"*, he said, *"to adapt a revised curriculum to meet the pupils' needs ... It is like a traditional curriculum in non-traditional ways. With these pupils, you need to try a lot of different things."* Asked to describe his teaching, Alua said, *"I use a straight forward approach."* Alua talks confidently and at length about *"reading strategies"*, *"whole language"*, *"mental maths"*, *"problem solving"*, and the *"writing process."* In the opinion of the interviewer, and from the respondents' responses, however, his teaching is still skill-based and focuses on drill and practice. He alleges using a mixture of new and old instruction procedures, but upon further interrogation, it was found he does not in fact use any new techniques in his instruction.

It is difficult to tell why Alua talks so confidently about reform activities when he neither belongs to any subject association nor does he attend conferences, workshops, or in-service programmes as gathered by the interviewer. *"Things really haven't changed much due to my not having the new textbook. I still do the same sorts of things as before. Now I suppose they will just be built into the new textbook which am yet to see. My teaching now is guided by the old textbooks available to me."*

From the point of view of the interviewer his practice looks very conventional, rooted in routines and rules. For example, Alua observes that,

"There are no new ideas about teaching the times tables. It's just something you have to learn. Teachers in this school feel bored about all these new changes. We all know there is nothing new to talk about, anyway".

This statement seems to reflect Alua's propensity to speak in generalities and to make large and loose connections between ideas. By emphasising procedures more than conceptual understanding, he is equally likely to go for right answers more than multiple responses, single representation more than alternative representations, and individual learning more than group learning, Alua's instruction seems rooted in the very kind of pedagogy that the FCUBE reform decries.

He, however, structures his teaching, delivers instruction, and determines the results with little interference. This is captured in his statement that,

"I plan my lessons and teach them to the best I can trying to get the pupils to understand. If they fail to do well, it always shows in their marks. What more can I do?"

While teachers like Balua complain constantly of 'too much to do in too little time', Alua makes no such complaint. He noted, *"some times you don't get through everything."* He seems to be choosing what he wishes to teach in his classroom without any check on him by either the head teacher or circuit supervisor.

Alua was also quite negative about the kind of INSET provided for the implementation of the reforms and had this to say:

"You never have an idea when the in-service is going to take place and the reasons for organising it. I suppose teachers are either hand picked by circuit supervisors or by the head teachers based on favouritism or 'who knows you'. For us in the rural schools, I think we are completely forgotten."

Unlike Balua, Alua hears nothing that impels him to question his current practice, to learn more, or to make any substantive changes. However, he seemed demoralised by the lack of recognition and support from administrators admitting that: *"There is very, very little recognition here. It makes one question whether it is really worth doing what one does to cope with the demands of the system. I feel left out; sometimes. Sometimes I think we teachers are not treated with respect. I might be asked to give my opinion on some issues under discussion, but it really doesn't matter, and I know it doesn't. So why the bother? So issues that are very important, like teaching content and methods, I use my experience and that does not make a difference."*

From Alua's expressions, he feels autonomous in his classroom but less influential in school decision making on school policies. This feeling of Alua corroborates the feeling of most older teachers in the survey who indicated autonomy in their classrooms but less satisfied with their involvement in school decision making.

Commenting on the years ahead, he had this to say: *"I don't know what is going to happen except that the pupils are just going to have a miserable time each passing year and fail. Everything is miserable. The pupils just don't know anything. There is too much for them to learn in too short a time"*

Alua feels very little pressure to respond to the reforms since he is unable to influence important decisions that affect his work. He explained that his inability to influence decision-making in his school did not seem to have a detrimental effect on his sense of confidence and efficiency.

Regarding suggestions for improvement, Alua said, *"I would like to see more courses organised for teachers at the circuit level, especially for those who have not experienced any such programmes. I think that will give many teachers in the rural and village schools the opportunity to be invited. There should also be*

follow up activities by the facilitators after these courses to help teachers who may be having problems thereafter."

Summary: While these two teachers work in nearby schools under similar conditions, receive the same textbooks, and attend the same district-wide in-service courses, their responses to reforms vary greatly. Alua responds more modestly because he believes reforms generally confirm ideas and practices he has long maintained. His talk echoes the language of reforms, but his classroom practice preserves, rather than transforms, his extant practice.

A common similarity between Alua and Balua, as observed from their brief presentations, is the considerable autonomy they both have in their teaching practices. They also concede to not getting help from their circuit supervisor and respective head teachers. In most ways, Alua's responses differ sharply from Balua's. Balua sees yawning gaps between reforms and his skill-based instruction and he is pushing for ambitious changes. Alua, by contrast, generally believes reforms support and justify his current thinking and practice.

Alua seems to be more receptive to reforms than to change. Talking to him, one senses his excitement with new ideas. Below the surface, however, a different image seems to emerge. Teaching is didactic, and learning is passive. In asserting that new ideas reflect those he already holds, Alua glosses over differences between ideas and between reforms and his practice. Doing so provides potential threats and permits him to maintain his reform talk and his conventional practice. By contrast to Balua's feeling of dissatisfaction, Alua believes his efforts meet reformers' intentions. There are no open questions, and no issues left unresolved. His pedagogical comfort provides no compelling reason either to question his view or to make profound changes in his practice.

6.2: THE CASE OF MS. KAPIO: Kapiro, a mother of three children, turned 48 in March 2000. She had earned her teaching credentials as a qualified certificate

'A' 4-year teacher several years earlier. At the time of this interview, she was living in the family home with her husband who works as an agriculture officer with the Ministry of Agriculture in the district. She teaches class four with 45 pupils on roll in one of the disadvantaged town schools. Kapio has equally witnessed many changes in the education system during the years she spent as a student to the present time as a serving teacher. She heard of the reforms during a session organised by the Ghana Education Service in the district at the time of its inception in 1990. Recalling her experience with schooling, Kapio noted that teachers were always in control:

"The teacher directed our learning. He tells us what we are going to learn. When I entered college, I really wanted to teach children to help change for the better than I was given."

Ms. Kapio's pre-service experience in college confirmed her existing beliefs about the teacher's role in controlling learning in a classroom.

"When I started teaching, I wanted my class to be quiet with children sitting and working at their desks and not talking with each other. That is how we were made to behave in my primary school days. These days the children do not want to be asked to do things the way we were taught."

Ms. Kapio's constraints as a teacher: The issues identified under the general category of constraints to Kapio were: accountability, time, and management concerns.

Accountability: Ms. Kapio's initial goal for change in respect of the FCUBE objectives was to replace her teacher-centred activities with the more pupil-centred experience during which she would allow the pupils freedom to discuss their work in class. Her concern for accountability surfaced immediately as she struggled to share control of the classroom with her pupils.

"I feel committed to make sure that the pupils achieve the goals of the curriculum as set in the syllabuses. I am still struggling with attaining the curriculum standards and also allowing the children to do things on their own."

Ms. Kapio observed that if her pupils were to learn, she must carefully control and monitor their learning experiences.

"I feel a lack of thoroughness when I allow the pupils to direct their learning. But, I don't know if I have the skills to teach the areas that we are asked to do with our pupils. The whole idea of the proposed new way to teach reading is very nice and I like it, but at the same time, I am a little nervous that if I don't follow on one lesson per week, that we will skip over some."

Time: Ms. Kapio's accountability concerns were further compounded by her concern about time. She needed to fit her classroom teaching to the pupils, but on second thoughts she realized that:

"Sometimes I feel that I am just pushed by time. I want the pupils to do certain things. It's hard when you have got the core curriculum objectives you need to get done and you feel some pressure. I feel that I am pressed and I find that I deal with that everyday. I always try to find time for other things." Kapio's concern about finding time to do other things seem to conform with the general feeling among older female teachers from the survey who indicated that they used most of their time for teaching tasks and still find time for leisure.

Ms. Kapio's professional growth opportunities were also limited by constraints of time. For example, obtaining and reading professional books and journals were not a priority for her.

"I think it's hard to sit down and read books when you are to deal with pupils from different backgrounds. Then you go home or whatever; everyone has another life whether it is family or other things to do. I am finding priorities other than reading. At the same time, my husband and I need more money to cater for our

own children and two of his nephews. I have to think about the family upkeep and how we can cope with the children's needs with our low salaries. I need to organise my materials and plan my lessons too."

Sometimes Ms. Kapio tries to stay up a bit longer after her children go to bed in order to read. However, she finds little time for reading since she has to devote some time during the weekends to support her husband on their farm to help supplement the family income. Following on that, her desire to attend workshops also ranked below her priorities of family and daily teaching responsibilities.

"Workshops organised at the weekends do not favour me since we need to do some farm work to support the family." She however managed to attend a district in-service meeting twice - one on teaching reading and the other on mathematics. Regarding her lessons on reading, she said: *"Occasionally, you'd meet a reading scheme which was new to you, and you'd have a look at that ... That was about the only thing I did because it was all so fresh in my mind from the in-service course I attended."*

Kapio felt supported in her own ongoing learning at the in-service course and seem to be doing well in her classroom practices. She also appears to have a sense of confidence that goes with their current thinking since she is able to admit to any problems she had experienced previously.

Kapio's management concerns: Ms. Kapio was uncomfortable with the increased noise level often evident when pupil-centred activities were occurring in the classroom. Her perceptions of others' expectations were of particular concern to her. She noted,

"During staff meetings, comments are made about teachers' teaching styles. For instance, those who have quiet classrooms are commended; those who had out-of-control classes or talkative ones were not warmly received. You end up getting

messages all the time of what's expected, not just from the headteacher, but the other teachers'." She went further to say,

"It is not safe to abandon my teacher-centred practice. I think I feel good when I think the children have learned something and that I am following the curriculum guidelines and not leaving anything undone."

On the issues of supervision in schools, she contends that,

"Frequent supervision and evaluation are necessary. Teachers will be encouraged to implement reforms if supervisors visit schools frequently. We can discuss our problems with them and receive advice if they come to school regularly. But this will only work if they circuit supervisors are knowledgeable, collegial and professional rather than imposing their views on us." Kapio contends that proper guidance from facilitators and circuit supervisors must be better organized, and that the work of good teachers should be appreciated whilst at the same time providing feedback on observations made during supervision sessions.

Summary: These data offer a rich description of the constraints to change that Ms. Kapio experienced, and her constraints are similar to those reported in the survey results by older female teachers. Interestingly, the constraints of accountability for meeting the curriculum mandates are intertwined with time limitations and her existing beliefs about reliability of traditional practice. This seems to contradict the general feeling among older female teachers from the survey who indicated that time was never a constraint to their teaching. If Kapio's reliance on traditional practices are anything of concern and applicable to older female teachers, then it simply means that the traditional methods of transmission of knowledge seem a short cut to teaching and learning in the perspective of older female teachers in general, hence time is not seen as a constraint. Kapio's teaching, as highlighted by this description, is the notion that some curriculum mandates may be perceived by

individual teachers as not actual. Nevertheless, perceived mandates and expectations are compounded by the constraints of time. However, a careful review of the description of Kapiro's constraints suggests that she is implementing changes in her practice while maintaining some traditional activities.

6.3: THE TOMATO ZONE PRIMARY SCHOOLS: THE CASE OF MR. ADIGA AND MR. TANKO

This section constitutes distinct illustrations of two classroom teachers in the same village school, 'Tomato Zone,' located five kilometres away from where Balua, Alua and Kapiro teach in the district. Of the two teachers, Adiga is the older aged 56 years and is the head teacher of the school, whilst Tanko is the younger teacher aged 28 years. The narratives of these two teachers help illuminate their views on teaching and learning under the FCUBE reform policy and many of the special qualities that are characteristic of the majority of teachers in this study.

6.3.1: Mr. Adiga's Case: Mr. Adiga, who is the head teacher of the school, still does full time teaching as a classroom teacher. He teaches primary class six with a pupil enrolment of 34. He qualified as a trained teacher 30 years prior to this interview. He first attained the qualified teachers' Certificate 'B' after attending two years initial teacher training and proceeded five years later to train for a further two years to attain the teachers' 'A' 4 year certificate. Both programmes of teacher training have been phased out since 1994 and replaced by a 3-year post secondary teachers' certificate programme. He has also been teaching in his present school for the past 8 years after his appointment as a head teacher and following upon his promotion to the rank of principal superintendent. According to him, he was born into this community and is currently the clan head of his people, a position he inherited upon his father's death nine years earlier.

Knowledge of the FCUBE reform: It was clear from his responses that he first heard of the FCUBE reform through the radio and from an awareness raising session organised by the district education office at the initial stages of its

introduction in 1990. He later read about it from circulars sent by the district director of education to his school. According to him,

"I am not sure whether the new approaches that we are told about are those that can really contribute to pupils learning if used even very well. My worry is whether these are simply not the same things said with each passing government without any results. I personally think the situation is getting worse with each government policy. Why can't we stick to one policy and try to improve upon what we already have?"

In Adiga's argument, he does not seem to distinguish between policy and implementation at this level and therefore laments government's failure to realize that almost any policy, if implemented, would be better than a mis-mash of policies only a quarter implemented.

Adiga also expresses doubt about the reform objectives of improving upon teaching and learning in schools and about the number of interventions going on in the district.

"At present there are so many different programmes taking place in this district as I have been told by three other head teachers when we met at the bank at the month end. They were not sure about the objectives of the different programmes and could not explain to me what they were, even though they had heard about them in use in other schools within their circuit. Until I met with them I never knew there was any such thing going on. And why was my school not chosen so that we can benefit too?"

Mr. Adiga's lack of knowledge of the intervention programmes going on in the district was no surprise to the researcher. The researcher however noted with concern the various intervention programmes introduced by the Ghana Education Service and the different donor partners into selected schools in the district with the intention of improving upon teaching and learning. Adiga further expressed

his concerns that, “ *The district education office should at least inform all head teachers of primary schools about the various intervention projects in the district so that they are well informed of the things that are experimented across the district in the selected schools.*” The information he got about what was happening in other schools in different circuits was through a chance meeting with his colleague head teachers and does not seem an appropriate way to get informed about their existence.

Adiga seems worried about the lack of involvement of head teachers in the reform, and seems to express that there are many on-going programmes in the education system in the district that he was not aware of. These interventions may be seen as different reforms distinct from the FCUBE and not as components of it. This is likely to further complicate teachers understanding of the FCUBE reform agenda. It is therefore obvious that the aims and objectives of the reform are not clear and explicit for some head teachers involved in the reform.

Adiga is not sure whether the reforms as present operating promotes pupil learning when he said, “*Do we have such material and the required knowledge in order to help the pupils learn the syllabus and cover all the objectives?*” Citing an example to bring his point home, he added that, “*Unfortunately, there are people who know little about maths as a subject and who do not even teach some topics they do not understand. Now some new approaches are introduced for pupils to get involved. How can teachers teach in this way when they don't know the new methods?*” Adiga contemplates how teachers could implement the reforms without the necessary supportive resources in the form of teaching and learning materials as well as the expertise to put into practice the expected methodologies. Out of an apparent situation of helplessness, he concluded by asserting that, “*I wish teachers could teach as was the case in the 70's when the teacher was there to take control of the class.*” This statement confirms the autonomy of the class teacher in the use of traditional ways of imparting knowledge to pupils and also

corroborates the high satisfaction level expressed by older teachers in the survey sample.

Asked about his opinion on how workable he sees the reform to be, he replied, *"We do not even have a clear target because the Ghana Education Service (GES) does not seem to give clear leadership. Copies of the new syllabuses and textbooks have not yet arrived in our school even though we were to be given these three years earlier. We seem to be moving in the dark if I may say so."* The reform is characterised by a top-down approach within the education structure and most teachers in the rural areas, like Adiga, have no access to the proposed new syllabuses and textbooks to help them implement the reforms.

Teachers' Workload: Observations written as field notes indicate that nearly all teachers described how they didn't have enough time to complete all their work. Teacher workload also surfaced as a major problem from the survey data for all categories of teachers in the sample. Most teachers worked for longer hours to be able to complete their work. The time required for planning and recording activities seem disproportionate to the time spent teaching. According to Adiga, *"We all say the same thing: that we shouldn't really be doing this kind of work, this amount of work, losing our weekends and holidays on preparing and marking pupils' work, and so on."* Upon further probing, it came to light that Adiga had to teach his classes full time and to do his administrative work since he had one teacher less on his staff.

The invisible burden of teachers' work seems to be caused by a combination of the increased volume of work created by initiatives designed to raise achievement and improve teaching and learning in schools. There seems to be a sense of professional duty demanding that teachers do whatever is deemed necessary to support the learning of their pupils, which is a new demand on teachers time and renewed skills acquisition distinct from their previously held practices of 'chalk and talk'. However, upon further interrogation by the researcher during the

follow-up interviews in January-February 2003, it came to light that most teachers were very keen to support their pupils' learning, nevertheless, they themselves felt inadequate to cope with the new demands of the curriculum in use.

For an older teacher like Adiga, teaching to the level required by the reform is very difficult for him. To him, teaching has become a *"young person's game because of the amount of energy that is required"*.

Determining what is worth knowing is, of course, the most difficult philosophical problem that teachers in the district confront. When Adiga was asked what his worries were as a teacher in a village school, he replied,

"Am I teaching the right thing? Am I teaching them enough? I worry about what if I'm not teaching pupils something that they need to know? Is that going to affect them in a few years time? Am I covering everything they need to know?" Even though the new curriculum does not give them a choice of what to teach, Adiga's concern about choice stems from his inadequate preparation to handle the new syllabuses. Adiga's handicap is a further pointer to the situation that had been expressed earlier by a greater number of older male teachers who indicated they were not exposed to in-service relevant to their needs. He could also be expressing a genuine concern about the relevance of the curriculum to parents and pupils needs.

Teacher Supervision: The survey also found widespread recognition among teachers that there is a need to be supported with supervision as indicated in the survey data. There was a strong feeling expressed by Adiga that, *"the present system of supervision is inappropriate and should be improved."* He believes that the system *"focuses too much on identifying bad practice and not enough on improving the practice of all teachers."* He also thinks that the present method of supervision meant that circuit supervisors couldn't receive an accurate impression of a school functioning normally.

"Some kind of supervision is fine. I don't have a problem with the idea of supervision. We have to be supervised." Despite this willing engagement with supervision, Adiga finds the experience so intrusive that it has hampered his ability to do his job properly.

"What you don't need is a great big inspection just to tell you that you are doing all right anyway. You need something more than that; you need the support that goes with it, the feedback that is finally coming in." The main source of this disruption, in Adiga's view, is fear and intimidation. From the researcher's field notes, many teachers, like Adiga, are so fearful of their circuit supervisors that they always feel terrified when they are due for inspection.

According to Adiga, *"He never asks me anything about our problems in the village. He seems happy to find that one teacher is not in school. So that he can send queries to prove he is working hard. He is not fair to us. He does not know of our problems."* As a result, Adiga feels that the supervisor gives unrealistic reports about his school.

Adiga also feels that the inaccurate impressions that the circuit supervisor gets of his school creates unachievable expectations for him and the other teachers. This is captured in his words that,

"Everyone in the rural schools knows that there isn't any school in this area that can actually keep on working at that level. The problem is you are always trying to achieve the unachievable, and that puts a huge amount of pressure on you. Where are the resources to work with and where is the support for teachers here?"

Picking upon this allegation by Mr. Adiga, the researcher tried to arrange a meeting with the circuit supervisor for his side of the story but he declined, claiming that he was indisposed. When the researcher contacted the coordinator of the circuit supervisors, who also acts as the chairperson and liaison between the

Circuit Supervisors and the District Director and Donor partners, he admitted that in his opinion, the circuit supervisor in question was not serious with his job, and in his words, *"I am not at all surprised by the allegation either from a classroom teacher or a head teacher. We are aware of this problem and something needs to be done about it."*

Adiga continued to talk about his earlier teaching days when he said, *"In the past, supervisors were coming in at regular intervals, and they saw the school as it was. They came in to catch you, and not to offer advice that was more supportive. It was worse then, and I think it was more truthful because that was the way the school was."* Comparing his past experiences of supervision with the present, Adiga's feels past supervisions, though stricter and less supportive, nevertheless, gave teachers accurate pictures of what pertained in their schools than the present practices of supervisions that seem to blur the realities of what actually happens in schools. He sees present supervisions as superficial and equally less supportive.

He also expressed a keen desire to use external supervision to improve his classroom practice and those of his teachers in the school. He was enthusiastic that circuit supervisors should focus not only on criticism, but also on advice and guidance. The opportunity of classroom observation should be a learning experience not just for the class teacher, but for circuit supervisors as well. Too often, teachers felt a loss of confidence in the system because of inexperienced supervision:

"You've got to get people in who know what they are talking about. If we are being supervised we need to have faith in who is doing the supervision ... which really hasn't happened in recent years ... they are just a bunch of former teachers who were doing the same things we are doing today in the classroom."

Having been supervised by some expert practitioners during some part of his teaching career, Adiga found the experience much more valuable. Furthermore, he

often felt that the most worthwhile part was the verbal feedback, rather than the formal written report.

"The supervisor who came round at the time and looked at my English lesson was an English teacher, and that was fine. You felt that whatever he said to you, he at least knew what he was talking about."

He also questioned the value of supervision unless it helps to improve the way teachers teach.

"We used to have subject organisers who would give decent advice. Now they are not in the system, and so there is no real advice. Yes, there seem to be a cut right back on advice, because they're (i.e. circuit supervisors) too busy supervising. It's gone too far the other way; instead of the advice, it's now all criticisms without the necessary support for us."

Reflecting his experience with supervision in the past years, Adiga said,

"Bad supervision can lead somebody to be worried, but a good one can leave behind sweet memories. For example, no one will be as good as my previous supervisor. Now even though I have regular meetings with my present supervisor, I always stay clear of my problems in coping with my school reports. Can I trust him? I need his backing for my next promotion, but will he use this sort of thing as evidence against me? There are some painful areas that are never discussed but need discussing so much it's an awful dilemma for me." It does appear from the responses of both Adiga and Tanko that teachers feel terrified and intimidated by some supervisors who they see as tyrants and persons with a big whip.

Adiga went on to explain that his present fears were due to what he was told by Tanko, a younger teacher posted to his school from the district capital. According to Adiga, Tanko said he had asked the circuit supervisor when it was possible for the supervisor to discuss issues concerning support they needed to enable them

teach the proposed curriculum. The circuit supervisor got angry and felt Tanko had no respect for him, hence the need to cause him to be sent to his school, and "If coming to this village school is considered a punishment, do you think Tanko will work satisfactorily? Does it mean all teachers in the rural and village schools are on punishment?" He concluded by saying, *"That is how some teachers are made to view their postings and therefore absent themselves from school some times. They create the problems for us head teachers"*

From his talk, one realises the strained and difficult supervisory relationships that exist between supervisors and teachers. Some supervisors are often not seen for who they are but as persons who intimidate teachers. He also suggested that schools should be able to request circuit supervisors in specific areas of performance as part of a shift towards an advisory regime.

"Maybe asking circuit supervisors to come in, rather than being told, would put it on us to say we need somebody to come in and help us with science or mathematics, rather than wait for someone to come in and say 'you need someone in here'." Adiga seem to be suggesting that when teachers invite circuit supervisors, it might open up discussions that will enable them share their problems and to get practical help on first hand experience with demonstration lessons than supervisors coming in to impose what they think teachers should be doing.

Curriculum issues: The curriculum is a priority area for professionally led change. In this study, Adiga appears to recognise the need for the FCUBE reform proposing a new approach to teaching and learning. However, he feared that elements of the curriculum were misguided, and that an overemphasis on coverage is likely to damage the quality of learning and the depth of understanding by pupils. He therefore complained that,

"We still have to cover everything in the syllabuses, whereas if the teachers knew that it was there as a guide... Teachers need to be able to pick what's appropriate"

for their context and to do it at the pace that is right. I think it's the pace that needs to be addressed. You're just pushing through to get them done." From Adiga's reaction, he might be suggesting teachers have a choice in what they should teach, but there seem to be no room for teacher choice once the national examinations are taken into account. It however goes to demonstrate how limited some teachers are when it comes to implementing the reforms without the necessary support they need to be able to manipulate the syllabuses to their teaching needs as well as the learning needs of their pupils.

Teachers in the rural areas do not seem to receive the practical orientation specified in the official curriculum as proposed by the FCUBE reform. Adiga, being a head teacher and a classroom teacher had this to say,

"I do not feel ready to use the new curriculum in its proper form since I have not had the opportunity to attend any organised in-service courses; and I therefore feel quite uncertain in my approach to the teaching in my class. There should be room for consultation with colleagues who may have an idea, but am afraid we are all in the same soup; empty if I can say so. We are not part of the project schools and we are not given in-service training."

Adiga's concerns seem to reflect the many views teachers expressed as observed in the interviewer's field notes and as supported by the evidence from the survey data when teachers indicated their need for in-service relevant to their teaching needs. From the survey data, not very many teachers had the opportunity to be invited or selected to attend in-service courses as stated in sections 5.6.8 and 5.9 of chapter five. This corroborates the interview findings since teachers selected to attend in-service courses are mostly from the project schools.

Teachers' Status: This section also shows that Adiga feels undervalued. He believes that his comparatively low pay reflects and reinforces the low value of teaching in society. Teachers, as professionals, are paid comparatively lower than

other professionals in Ghana such as lawyers, medical doctors, and engineers. Even as a head teacher, his allowances are not regularly paid nor does he control any budget in his school.

From his point of view, however, improving the conditions under which teachers work turns out to be as important as pay. The point made is that, although teachers in the past were not high earners relatively, they were not so concerned about the money since they had status; now, however, they do not have the status and are therefore more concerned about their relatively low salaries.

"When I was starting out 30 years ago, pay was not an issue. Teachers were highly respected then not because of how much money they had but their position in the society. The teacher was everything to the community in which he lived. It is not the case now. So why am I not earning enough to at least take good care of my family if am not respected in the society?", he asked.

From the field notes, many teachers, like Adiga, believe that there is now a strong link between pay and status. Many felt that the way to raise the status of the teaching profession was to increase the pay of teachers and to be able to pay them on time to prevent them borrowing from the communities. This general feeling is captured in what Adiga had to say:

"If teachers were well paid and therefore do not resort to borrowing from their respective communities they can at least manage their families well and will be respected by the society. But that is not the case these days. Newly posted teachers are paid several months after their first appointment. How are they expected to be respected if their survival depends on them borrowing?"

Discussion: In general, Adiga wants a change in the relationship with circuit supervisors in ways that enable teachers to play a larger role in the process of improving teaching and learning in schools. This goes against the image of

resentful and barely competent teachers, resistant to change and suspicious of external intervention, which has until recently dominated public and media debate in Ghana. These conclusions point to some of the features of a more constructive supervision regime that would engage teachers more directly and continuously in change geared towards improvement and innovation. Circuit supervisors should provide advice to teachers based on an understanding of local schools and their communities, as well as on the best available professional knowledge that is useful for teachers in these deprived areas.

6.3.2: The Case of Mr. Tanko: Tanko, aged 28, is the youngest amongst the seven teachers in the interview sample. He qualified as a three-year post secondary certificate holder five years ago. At the time of this interview, he was teaching primary class five in the same school as Adiga. He was posted to his present school on alleged disciplinary grounds under the recommendation of his circuit supervisor. It is alleged by the circuit supervisor that Tanko had a bad record of poor attendance in his previous school, hence the need to transfer him from the district capital as a form of punishment.

Tanko's knowledge of the reform: Asked whether he understood or was familiar with the reform, Tanko claimed that he first heard of the reform in college as a trainee teacher. He referred to no clear guidelines regarding how teaching and learning was to be improved whilst conceding an increase in school places for pupils who wanted to enrol in schools. However, he further stated that when he started teaching in 1996, the rationale for the reform was explained to him and that *"nothing more has been said to support this communication throughout the period till now."* He said, *"it was clear then but after that ... without support, or no help from either the head teacher or my circuit supervisor, I am not sure what to do ..."*

On its implementation, Tanko intimated that, *"They leave the teacher alone to judge how to use the revised syllabuses whenever and however he or she wants*

and likes to..." He continued by saying, "So, here we are. I am in my fifth year of teaching and not sure what to do. I mean, one could do whatever one likes and get away with it."

From Tanko's responses, it was quite evident that the aims and objectives of the reform are not clear or explicit to him even though he tries to improve teaching and learning in his school. It could also be said that he understands the programme in his own way and sees his role as a teacher in his own context doing what he thinks is best.

He also expressed his concerns about the rationale of the innovation and referred to the lack of attention given by the head teacher and the circuit supervisor to the programme. From his point of view, there is the fear that the administrators do not put enough emphasis on the programme since they seem not to understand the reform themselves. *"When I wanted to discuss my problem in maths with the circuit supervisor, his emphasis was more on language issues which to me was not the point. This created the rift between us leading to my transfer to this school as a form of punishment as I understand from my colleagues in my former school. Without in-service and support from him or my head teacher, it is impossible to teach the pupils what I did not understand myself as a teacher."* Tanko seems to suspect that his transfer was due to his persistent request to get the circuit supervisor to discuss his teaching problem regarding mathematics. He therefore sees his supervisor as one trying to hide behind his own inadequacies by transferring him to another school so as to keep him silenced. It therefore appears that Tanko's predicament seems to worsen, as he thinks that his transfer served as a form of punishment as he was made to understand by his colleagues.

Tanko further admitted that he has never received any practical help from either of his head teachers. *"It is through my own personal effort that I teach what I can following what the syllabus and textbook tells me. I think both my former and present head teachers are out of date with what the reform requires of teachers."*

They trained several years ago when I was not born. I doubt if they really have the time to look at the documents you referred to earlier. I cannot get the support I need to do my work as a classroom teacher. The head teachers are either too busy or inadequate to help me with what I need." He continued by saying, *"I do not think it is a good idea for the head teacher who does not understand the new ways of doing things to go on heading a school."*

It is obvious from Tanko's assertion that teachers who work under head teachers who have little knowledge of the reform are left alone to do what they think is right under the circumstances. However, good leadership and management at subject level are essential if the quality of teaching and learning is to be systematically and effectively monitored, evaluated and improved. Many head teachers in the primary schools in the district need support and training, particularly in the aspect of their team leader role. This point corroborates Mr. Adiga's earlier remarks of a lack of involvement of head teachers in the reform process and how the system of supervision in use is inappropriate since it does not seem to help teachers.

Teachers' supervision issues: Even though some circuit supervisors do pay regular visits to schools in their circuits, observations from the field seem to indicate that there is little hope that genuine improvement will come about when supervisors merely pass on a bureaucratic demand. Teachers may therefore deflect improvement efforts and respond to change in a ritualistic fashion. Tanko captures this feeling among teachers when he stated that, *"The circuit supervisor, in order to do his job properly, should know more things than I do ... and this is not the case here. He cannot solve my problems. He has never asked me anything concerning my teaching or the pupils learning problems. I think it would be nice if he could support me."* Tanko's views are supported by Adiga, (i.e. his head teacher) who stated that the "system focuses on identifying bad practice and not enough on improving the practice of teachers."

It would appear that Tanko relies on his own value system as a primary source to determine his response to the reform. He does not seem to oppose the reform but rather respond through familiar activities such as manipulating the curriculum to suit his practice. He therefore tends to respond to specific aspects of the curriculum that he feels competent to handle.

On how he relates with the circuit supervisor, he further explained that, *"I still get occasional visits, but as I said earlier, he does not seem to like people asking him questions he is not competent to answer. I think that brought me to my new school. I will say the relationship between us is not good and that comes from him. I do not think he can really help me. All he does is to check the teachers' attendance and observe classes, sit with the head teacher and that is it."* Tanko expressed some level of discomfort when he said, *"I now fear authority and always feel I need to prove to my head teacher and circuit supervisor that I can do my work."* However, a mismatch of expectations that never get tackled can play a part in reducing the worth of supervision. *"My supervisor doesn't really provide what I want. He tends to pick on things which are important to him, not me."*

The issue that seems to emerge is that some circuit supervisors, even though visiting schools quite frequently, do not seem to be productive to the teachers. And even more important, there seems to be no real communication between supervisors and the classroom teachers themselves. Both Adiga and Tanko seem to be facing a peculiar problem unique to their circuit since Alua, Balua and Kapio do not seem to be having similar problems or poor relations with their circuit supervisor. The attitude of supervisors towards teachers tends to be determined by the individual's personality. Some supervisors have a friendly and informal talk with the teacher before the supervision inspection process, helping to calm nerves and establish a productive relationship. Others, however, were reported to treat the teacher in a condescending manner. This causes frustration and friction between the supervisor and the teacher. The point made here is that personalities intervene in the implementation of reforms at the local level.

Some other important issues that emerged from the interviews centred on who is eligible to attend in-service programmes and the difficulty of getting practical support from the organisers as well as the opportunity to discuss and share ideas among themselves. For example, Tanko had this to say, *"I am not sure about the number of in-service courses a trained teacher needs to attend. Since completing my initial teacher training five years ago I am yet to be invited to a session. I am looking forward to it, but not sure what the procedure is for choosing teachers to attend; whether there are rules and regulations regarding choices, am not sure."* He also remarked, *"You never have an idea when in-service is going to take place. I suppose teachers are either hand picked by circuit supervisors or secretly chosen by their head teachers to attend if you are in their good books."* Even though Tanko was less impressive with his lengthy response it seemed to the researcher he might not be the deviant teacher as portrayed in the earlier sections of this chapter. It could also be that he wanted to sound impressive talking to the researcher as the 'significant other' who might help influence his attendance at INSET courses.

On suggestions to improve in-service provision, Tanko emphasised the need to conduct INSET more frequently to cater for the different needs of teachers and to provide opportunities for all teachers to participate. *"Frequent supervision and evaluation are necessary. Teachers will be encouraged to implement the reforms if supervisors visit schools frequently to discuss teachers' problems with them and to receive advice if they come to school regularly."* Tanko feels preferences are given to favourites to attend in-service programmes by head teachers and circuit supervisors but not according to need.

Asked what he worried about as a classroom teacher, he stressed that,

"One problem I have as a teacher is going through some material I've never taught before and trying to keep up with the content. It is more than a question of being prepared; it is also turning around and having enough time to put it into a

good lesson plan; something that the pupils are going to be involved with and that works well. So it is a challenge to try to make my lessons alive."

Unfamiliar subject matter: In addition, he claims, *"I still feel unprepared. Most teachers in this school have no stuff that they can fall back on, and I have to read a book that I've never read before when we receive new textbooks. I have to prepare totally something new every week; I must admit everything will be trial and error."* He adds,

"The teaching this year is not having a clue how to put my science lesson together. Everyday, I am trying to find out how to put the pieces together to have something valuable come out of the day; and it is very clear to me that I'm not doing as good a job in that area as I think I'm doing in other subjects."

However, one would have thought that one advantage that the younger teachers might have going for them is the analytical skills they should have acquired during their initial teacher training at college with the launch of the reform and distinct from those acquired by the older teachers prior to the reforms. Unfortunately, it is quite evident from Tanko's response that his initial training period did not provide him with the necessary skills with which to analyse issues - and coupled with a lack of in-service training, making him inadequate to function. Tanko's predicament about his initial teacher training not having an impact on his teaching seems to contradict the survey findings where teachers rated the ITTs as having a greater influence (74%) on their current teaching practices as stated in section 5.6.2 in chapter five.

Curriculum coverage: When asked what his problem was as a teacher in a rural school, he replied: *"There's so much information that I need as a teacher which I do not have. There are no textbooks and copies of the revised syllabuses for us to use. I fear delays in my salary and I am thinking of my health too."* Tanko seem to be expressing genuine fears about his health and anticipated delays in his salary

all of which are issues common to teachers in rural Ghana. His worries about teaching and learning resources re-echoes and confirms what the survey data holds for all categories of teachers in the sample.

On issues of satisfaction as a teacher, Tanko intimated that, *"I think we have more complex problems in our education system than the new ways of teaching and learning. Like the usual talk over the years, they may advocate changing everything or a particular thing, technique, or strategy. The important issue for me is how much money the teacher is paid to do all this work. We are not paid good salaries and sometimes there are delays in even getting your own money. I know of some teachers in the village who owe some people. Where is our image as teachers? No one can continue to work on a poor salary effectively and I think it is a big problem."* Tanko stated that his friends now felt that teaching was a *"short-term profession"* because it was very difficult to work under such pressure for more than a few years, *"without adequate remuneration or incentives, or even the necessary teaching and learning materials."* This latter point is very important considering that Adiga, an older teacher never took issue with remuneration at the time he started teaching until now; and it corroborates the quantitative findings in section 5.3.3 of chapter five. Tanko's reaction therefore re-emphasises the decline in real incomes of teachers over the past years in Ghana, thus making it hard for both younger and older teachers to continue to stay committed to the teaching service.

It is obvious that Tanko is experiencing stress, anxiety and frustration as he strives to involve himself in the reform. This is due to the lack of support and poor implementation procedures with which to help teachers in their quest for change.

6.4: MS. ABAA's PROFILE: Ms. Abaa is a middle aged woman who started her teaching career 12 years ago. Prior to her present posting, she had taught in three different rural schools. She currently teaches primary class 4 with a pupil population of 48 in one of the 'project schools' (facilitated by Whole School

Development) located in the district capital. Ms. Abaa is a single parent with a son who attends the same school in which she teaches. She was posted from her former school after her promotion to the rank of senior superintendent in the teaching service.

Abaa's knowledge of the reform: Abaa's knowledge of the reform was first through the mass media. In recent years, she attended a few in-service programmes organised at the district level to acquaint herself with the new methodologies designed for the reform package. However, as a teacher previously in rural schools, her conception of the teacher's role was relatively simple, and the curriculum was confined to the textbook.

"It is very hard to get textbooks working in the rural area. However, once the textbooks are available, your work is made simple. You follow what is in the syllabus and refer to the textbook to prepare your lessons and to teach the children."

Her professional world, then, was almost entirely bounded by what happened in the classroom. She was obediently carrying out the prescriptions of the head teacher and the circuit supervisor in her circuit.

With her new promotion and subsequent posting to her present school as a senior superintendent and as an assistant head teacher, she became part of the administrative machinery. She had the opportunity to attend other courses related to teaching and learning organised by the Whole School Development (WSD) and Link Project Teams in the district. Her attendance exposed her to the new syllabuses and textbooks in use and she begins to question what pupils need to learn when she said,

"Pupils do not have to learn all these things in six years. It may take less or more time. It depends on all teachers in the school thinking about how we can give the children the best and move forward." It is Abaa's belief that teachers working

together as a team can make their work easier by improving upon teaching and learning in their schools.

She recalls her experience prior to her new school: *"At first I was not interested because I did not care much about what happened outside of my previous schools. But my present head teacher suggested that I should try to see things differently from where I came. To him, it was a strategy to benefit the school if I had to cope with the staff. He wanted his teachers to see more outside and bring back something new to the school. He therefore sent me to workshops when the opportunities came"* Abaa tends to admit that her present status is as a result of the conscious effort of her head teacher to help her develop her capabilities. This is quite contrary to the situation in which Balua and Tanko found themselves' when they said both their head teachers and supervisors were not supportive of their work. Abaa therefore seem blessed working under a head teacher who had leadership qualities with which she was directed, supported and encouraged in her work.

Changing to a new school with a different culture from her previous schools' experiences, Abaa talked of how she had developed an insight about the reform process.

"When I look back, I had a different way of understanding. Not completely different, but when I was inside my classroom, I could not see. I think in the rural schools we are out of touch with many things. For example, we hardly get the syllabuses on time and we do not have enough textbooks. Not even the old ones before the FCUBE reform" This statement confirms earlier testimonies of teaching and learning resource constraints by Balua, Alua and Adiga.

Initially, Abaa felt intimidated, as she was unable to understand what the 'experts' were discussing in workshops she had earlier attended. It was not until her appointment as an assistant head teacher a year later that she started to make sense of the conversations.

'I thank my head teacher for giving me different kinds of work each year. I can learn from my work with continued involvement with administrative work in the school. I taught for six years in my former school without attending a single workshop'. Abaa begins to differentiate her experiences between two of her previous schools and her current school and continue to see her head teacher as the force behind her improvement.

Participating in workshops taught her the importance of learning from other teachers experience from different schools in the district.

"I think the greatest impact on me has been the WSD and Link reading workshop at the Catholic social centre. During those three days, I heard people talk about problems that I have not yet encountered in my own teaching. Knowing what problems other teachers in other schools encountered will help me to deal with problems when they come up, and I can share my own experience with the teachers in my school."

Following on the WSD and Link Project workshops, in which open discussions with colleague teachers were held with facilitators, and having worked in groups to design pupil activities for specific topics, Abaa became very active in her 'project school'. Upon further interrogation, it was found that she visited other schools whenever she had the opportunity and took part in a few other workshops. She seems more active and wants to use her knowledge acquired during workshops to help other teachers to implement the FCUBE reform. For example, she explained that she engaged teachers in her school to facilitate their development through designing of teaching and learning resources. This follows on from her statement that,

"I wanted to have an in-service course in my school after we had met with the Link workshop facilitators. I began that in the first term ... but there was no time ... and when we have all the teachers interested in the changes and willing to

learn how to develop pupil activities, then we can proceed from there. So I need time for the training of teachers in my school with the help of the head teacher."

Abaa perceived that many of the conflicts between teachers, head teachers and circuit supervisors in the district were due to misunderstandings and a lack of communication among them. According to her,

"Teachers feel let down; they feel that the head teachers and the circuit supervisors get all the credit, and that their contributions were not properly recognised."

Asked what her concerns were as a teacher, she replied:

"I think if our people at the top do not continue to give any support, it will be more and more difficult to continue to work well. I think time is the biggest threat to classroom teachers. I am not sure if I can see a future without support from the top. The reform in principle is good but in practice, it's quite difficult to do. Especially if you come to think of the time teachers need to prepare their lessons with different activities in different subjects, covering the syllabuses and involving the pupils with so much noise; it is not easy at all."

Abaa's plea for time seems to contradict the survey findings in which time was never seen as an issue with the older female teachers in the research sample. It is therefore possible to speculate that her position and involvement in various activities such as workshops, school visits and designing appropriate activities for pupil learning seem to be taking too much of her instructional time.

Discussion: As a senior teacher, Ms. Abaa's perspectives changed through her involvement with various INSET courses on different occasions. She tried to improve upon her human and power relationships both in her school and outside of her school. Her participation in schoolwork opened opportunities for extended

professionalism and contact with various teachers and facilitators. She was therefore able to acquire a holistic view of the reform process and attend to the reform at her school level. Ms. Abaa's concern was to make sure that the reform worked well and that her school was seen to be ahead of other schools in the implementation process. Abaa had changed some of her theories in use and acted in ways that were consonant with a practical perspective. In a different context, she was able to make comparisons and come to a new understanding of things that she had taken for granted before.

In Ms. Abaa's present school, it was observed that two different organisational cultures were being nurtured. The first was top-down and hierarchical since it depended on all teachers' loyalty to the head (i.e. traditional top-down) and following instructions from the project teams (i.e. project top-down). The second was Abaa's attempt to get a working group of teachers who would operate with a more democratic and collaborative culture to generate knowledge from their practice. Her thinking seems influenced by her head teacher, through the WSD and Link Project workshop sessions emanating from the FCUBE reform.

6.5: THE CASE OF MR. ADAMU: Mr. Adamu, who is teaching in the same district capital as Ms. Abaa, is 49 years old and has been teaching for 28 years in total in five different schools. Adamu has therefore experienced very many different regimes of the education system in the country. He believes that his duty as a teacher is to help his pupils to learn. He tries to achieve this by using a transmission model of teaching. He talked of how he was often frustrated by the pupils' failure to learn, which he attributed to their innate abilities.

"When the pupils' hand in their exercise books for you to see now, all you will see is the poor marks they get. Yes, they are not able to follow. I feel it is their innate ability. For those with good innate abilities, they can follow well."

For Mr. Adamu, the line of authority is clear: *"teachers are to obey the school authority, and schools had to comply with the government policy."* He told of his unhappy experience when he questioned the administrators regarding their laxity in dealing with the problems of teachers. He was reprimanded afterwards by his former circuit supervisor for questioning the feasibility of some of the elements of the FCUBE reform. *"What do we get from all this talk about improvement in teaching and learning? What do the trainers know about what we need as classroom teachers? All they do is to assume we need this or that without asking our opinions on the kind of issues we face as teachers in our classrooms and schools."* Although he did not agree with the supervisor, he now kept silent because engaging in professional debate was never an option for him.

During this period, Mr. Adamu acted like an obedient servant, trying to deliver what he has been told to do as it was handed down from his senior man. *"I think we teachers are never given the opportunity to say our ideas as we feel fit for our welfare and that of our pupils. All that we hear from the people out there is that, 'you are to do what you are told', or 'that is what we've been asked to tell you to do'*

Mr. Adamu's second phase of experience within the FCUBE period coincided with his school's selection as one of the project schools. Workshops were organized by the Link Project Team, from which he benefited, in the district on pedagogical changes in teaching and learning. Instead of transmitting materials from a textbook, Mr. Adamu started to see the role of the teacher as a curriculum and resource person. Pupils were no longer seen as the major source of the problem when they failed to learn. Adamu now talks of:

"The reform programme causes teachers to think. If we use textbooks, we still have to think about the best way of presenting them to ensure pupils understand. This is quite a challenge to me as a teacher. If your presentation is not good, pupils will not be able to learn anything." Getting involved with in-service

courses has made Adamu to see textbooks differently from his fellow teachers such as Alua, Balua and Kapio who saw them as gospel.

Mr. Adamu was delighted to find that even those pupils previously perceived by him as having the lowest ability were able to understand and enjoy his lessons. He attributed this to the change in his teaching method.

"I believe in-service is very necessary especially now that we are faced with this new programme. If I get more training in the new methods, it will do me a lot of good, more so with the practical activities which I think is different from my training in the teachers' college in those days."

His exposure to some workshops gave him a sense of achievement and led him to declare that, *"Attending some of the workshops this year, I did learn something new. This year especially, my feeling is that I am really a teacher, I feel more professional."*

He also developed an awareness of his own development, and was critical of his past actions.

'I feel that my change is that my attitude towards the less able pupils is much better. Before, I was not good to the poor pupils. They could not follow me and it made me angry. Now it won't happen. Actually, I feel that now I am good, I really think that before I was bad.'

Asked what his concerns were as a classroom teacher, he replied: *"Before my school was selected as a project school, and at the time I was teaching in my previous schools, things were different. At the beginning of the year, I was faced with no textbooks, no materials and a class of very worried pupils to teach. I essentially received no help from the head teacher or the circuit supervisor who I thought would come to my aid. There is somehow improvement. I still think*

frequent contacts should exist with all who are involved in the innovation – the children we teach, their parents, all teachers, head teachers, circuit supervisors, the district director and all the people in the project schools. I also think there is need for more project schools to be sited in the rural areas so that teachers there can also learn something new.”

It is evident from Adamu’s response that with his exposure to some workshops, his conception of the reform has changed. He appears to have learnt some new methods that he had hitherto not been exposed to as a teacher in a deprived rural setting. He also thinks for the reforms to succeed, there is the need for everyone in the education system to be involved and for rural schools to be reached by interventions and resources.

6.6: PORTRAIT OF MR. BAANI THE CIRCUIT SUPERVISOR

Mr. Baani turned 58 years at the time of this interview. He taught in five different schools for almost 18 years as a classroom teacher, and 7 years as a head teacher prior to his subsequent promotion and appointment as a circuit supervisor in the past 5 years. He first trained as a certificate ‘A’ 4-year teacher after which he pursued further training to attain a diploma certificate. As a progressive teacher, he studied for a degree prior to his new appointment. It can therefore be said that, Mr. Baani has a rich range of experiences of the many different changes in the Ghanaian education system from when he started his teaching career. Mr. Baani was chosen for this interview because of his current position in the district as the chair of circuit supervisors and one who conducts meetings and coordinates activities of his colleagues at the end of each month. He also serves as the liaison between circuit supervisors, the donor partners, and the District Director of Education.

When quizzed on how he got to know of the educational reform, he alleged “*there is nothing new about the FCUBE reform except that it has been given a new name.*” According to him, “*various committees had previously made similar*

recommendations to previous governments but the question of how each government implemented those recommendations remained an issue.” He however, added that, “the reform is a good idea but I think it was hastily planned and enforced on teachers and administrators alike. There was the need for thorough planning as voiced by our teachers’ union but this was not taken by the government for various reasons.”

He personally thought *“the teachers’ union could have spearheaded the reforms in the education system if it had initiated discussion groups among teachers to help identify the problems they face instead of allowing the government each time to tell us what to do before we rise against it.”* In his opinion, *“each passing government does not heed to the problems of teachers. Our voices seem to be heard but nothing is done to help us in the system. We are always seen as the cause of the poor performance of pupils in our schools even though they (i.e. government) don’t listen to our concerns”*

Reporting on how he views the reform intervention programmes by both the government and donor partners in helping to improve teaching and learning in schools, Mr. Baani pointed out that, *“even though monies are meant to be used for organising in-service programmes throughout the country, much of it is used at committee meetings high up there than for the classroom teachers. The big men take greater proportions of it as sitting and training allowances with little left for us administrators and classroom teachers alike. Teachers in classrooms cannot improve teaching and learning without the due incentives to work. We as supervisors cannot go to the schools to see what is happening there when we cannot maintain our motor bikes nor get our travel allowances paid to us.”*

On in-service training, Mr Baani admits having attended quite a reasonable number of them organised at the district and national level but that, *“at these workshops, it is difficult to get answers to questions you need to clarify. Most times you ask a question and you are told, ‘this is what we have been told to tell*

you. Go to your circuits and implement the curriculum as spelt out in the documents;’ I don’t think this is good enough. There should be room for people to question and discuss vital issues which the facilitators do not know since they have not been to classrooms themselves.” He further explained that, “if I don’t understand something and I get back to my district, how sure are they that I can function well. My teachers will equally not understand anything. This may lead to lack of confidence for me by my teachers if I am not able to answer their questions.” This statement made by Mr. Baani confirms the allegation made earlier on by Tanko concerning the inability of his circuit supervisor to help him simply because the Circuit Supervisor does not understand the issues of the reform.

On how he sees education in rural schools in his circuit, he described them as “dilapidated school buildings lacking basic facilities such as blackboards, teaching aids, and drinking water.”

Mr. Baani also concedes that, “curriculum and teaching materials in rural primary schools are both inadequate and inappropriate. While textbooks are supposed to be provided free of charge in public schools, several do not have such supplies. In some schools, one can find old, torn copies of textbooks.”

Children in most rural schools in his circuit, “write their exercises lying on their bellies because they do not have adequate furniture.” According to him, “rote learning taking and copying from the blackboard are predominant teaching methods.” He also feels “the content of the textbooks in use are also not in keeping with children’s developmental skills. Textbook material reveals a middle class bias with information presented that is of little relevance to the rural child.”

He also indicated that “the lack of adequate and appropriate resources in terms of teaching staff also hinders children’s learning in rural schools. Other than high teacher-pupil ratios (such as 1:45, 1:50) detracting teacher’s ability to provide

for the needs of children, some schools are run sometimes with one teacher teaching several classes of different levels at the same time."

According to him, *"high absenteeism among teachers in rural schools is common."* He reported that the reasons for this include *"lack of motivation due to low salaries, non payment of administrative responsibilities for head teachers, excessive paperwork, isolation experienced by teachers due to remote postings, and special concerns about security for female teachers in some of the rural areas."*

Regarding his relationship with teachers in his circuit, Mr. Baani seemed puzzled when he said, *"I sometimes wonder the type of training some teachers got before they qualified as teachers. Even though I agree they do not get much exposure to workshops, I still believe with their training at the college should be enough to prepare them adequately to handle these new changes; but unfortunately, one cannot count on that."* *"It may be alright for a teacher trained 15 years ago not to be able to cope with the present reforms but for those trained 5 years ago, there should be no excuse because they passed through the system"*, he added.

When his attention was drawn again to the issue of how he relates to teachers in his circuit, he explained that, *"I have a cordial working relationship with my teachers. There have been a few occasions where their head teachers have reported them to me and we resolved the issues in a more open and congenial atmosphere. There is no point in being too harsh and on the heels of teachers these days since we all know what problems we go through. The situation in the past had been different when some school inspectors acted in the contrary."* He however added that, *"I am not speaking for my colleagues overall. I have heard uncomfortable cases with teachers in conflict with their heads and some circuit supervisors from my previous circuits. I know with time, these issues would be put under control so that we can together work as a team in the district."* Mr. Baani's confession here indicates he is aware of the problems between teachers,

head teachers, and some circuit supervisors, and confirms what had been earlier said by Tanko and Adiga.

He sees financial support for education as *"a major impediment to ensuring effective school monitoring. While we are mandated to provide supervision to teachers in schools, finance poses a burden on our travel and maintenance allowances as well as the payment of night allowances. Travel to these places cannot therefore be frequent since with a break down of your motor bike, you do not have enough money to repair it."*

He added that, *"when I was a head teacher, I thought the circuit supervisors were occupying an enviable position, but now, I don't. It is a frustrating job to do because you never get the support you need to get your job done and done properly. You run into numerous complaints about classroom teachers not doing their work and teachers also complaining about their head teachers not treating them fairly. At the end of it all the teachers and the head teachers see you as not sympathetic to their plights. I do not blame them because I was there before now."*

Supervisors in Ghanaian schools are appointed from among practising teachers (i.e. classroom teachers or head teachers) who meet the required qualities that include a demonstration of leadership quality in both their subject matter and in administration. They are also required to attend various in-service training programmes throughout their career. Mr. Baani, prior to his appointment as a circuit supervisor, had served as a classroom teacher and as a head teacher and can therefore be said to have experienced both worlds.

Asked whether he thought in-service was a right or a choice, he responded that *"it is a right and a choice since teachers need in-service training to be able to do their job and they also need teaching and learning materials. It is easy to talk about them being innovative and creative, but no one can be creative without the*

necessary support and a good salary. If teachers are to attend in-service, there should also be the opportunity for them to choose what courses to go on since their classroom needs are different."

In his opinion, *"even teachers who are given in-service training on the new methodologies are still mixing the traditional with the proposed new methodologies in their teaching as a result of their inability to design teaching activities to cope with the new methods. Others feel more comfortable with their traditional methods since it saves them time to be able to cover their syllabuses, and yet others do not see the links clearly since they do not have copies of the new textbooks to go with the syllabuses."* This statement further attests to the experiences narrated by both Alua and Kapio whose teaching practices have not changed over the period.

Concerning his greatest challenge as a school inspector, he commented that, *"inspections to evaluate teacher effectiveness are almost never followed up on. In-service training for teachers is rare (probably less than 5% of teachers in the rural schools have had in-service training), and ... infrequent. The younger teachers feel they are poorly motivated individuals. Some of these teachers view teaching as a secure income outlet with plenty of spare time to pursue other interests. Others just use teaching as a stepping-stone to get into the universities on study leave with pay but who leave the field after their training. They therefore feel less committed to their work either through irregular attendance to school or playing the sick most times."* Again, this statement by Mr. Baani goes to confirm the earlier statement made by Adiga regarding his fears of younger teachers posted to rural areas as a form of punishment, and especially on the experience of Tanko.

On parents' attitudes to their children's attendance to school, he intimated that, *"even though parents attach great importance to their children's education, they have a low expectation of them. Because the area is predominately an agricultural economy, several children assist in tasks, particularly during sowing*

and harvesting time, saving the family resources that would have otherwise gone to pay for hired labour."

From the series of monthly meetings with his colleagues, Mr. Baani intimated that the common problems they face as supervisors are *"there are no sufficient funds for monitoring purposes; some head teachers are not able to help teachers in their schools; issues of teacher indiscipline are on the increase due to low morale; and too much work due to high supervisors to teacher ratios (i.e. 1:90)."* He also conceded to the fact that some of his colleagues *"provide little, if any, methodological feedback and instruction for teachers to improve teaching and learning since they are not familiar with the latest teaching techniques, little time is given to individual teachers during supervision, and little impact, overall, of the inspection process on teaching and learning."* He added that, *"I do help my teachers with methodological issues if and when they arise. It might not be the best under certain circumstances, but together we try to find solutions to problems of teaching when encountered."* Mr. Baani attests to helping his teachers whenever he sees himself capable of doing so. This goes to re-affirm his earlier confession about trying to learn from facilitators during INSET programmes.

In sum, supervision is described as 'a one-way street', in which the supervisor comes, observes, writes the report, but does not give the teacher a chance to participate in any of the evaluation process. The data also illustrate the point that the influence of collegiality on professional development is non-existent because supervisors do not create learning opportunities, and that the scarce learning opportunities that sometimes exist are not supportive.

The data gathered by the present study indicate that centralized teacher supervision is criticised, firstly, with regard to the quality of supervisors, and secondly, in terms of the nature of the process of supervision. Teachers point out that supervisors, even though they were teachers at one time, have forgotten both the natural classroom setting and the problems related to teaching. They further

state that rather than being an evaluation, the inspection turns from the teacher's qualification and teaching practices to what the supervisor has done or can do. Some supervisors tend to dominate the discussions and even interfere with the lesson in progress. This behaviour on the part of supervisors is therefore demonstrative of the point that there is no collegiality or collaboration between supervisors, head teachers and teachers. The kind of collaboration that seems to exist among teachers could best be described as 'defensive collaboration', since teachers tend to support each other in times of need.

It is also evident from Mr. Baani's responses that supervisors have to identify areas for improvement in individual teachers' practice, and to provide recommendations for specific changes through constructive feedback. This means that the supervisor should have the ability to identify areas for improvement, and to interact and communicate them effectively with the teacher; and that the teacher must be willing to listen to the suggestions and to implement the recommendations.

6.7: WHAT LESSONS CAN BE LEARNED? The main focus of the study was to understand how teachers view their professional situation and, in particular their views of the FCUBE reform introduced in 1996. The teachers interviewed were, by and large, highly dissatisfied with the current situation. While some teachers remained dedicated to what they considered their vocation, there was clear agreement among teachers that teaching had become less attractive and that it was more difficult to remain in the profession over time. The issues of pay and status came out strongly in their arguments, reinforcing the findings from the questionnaire survey presented in sections 5.3.3, 5.3.5 and 5.3.6 in the previous chapter.

The teachers highlight how they learnt of the reform, the excessive workload created by the FCUBE reform initiative and the continuous pressure they face in trying to improve their teaching. They also identified their working environment

in schools as a barrier to motivation or professional satisfaction. They see the status of the profession as a wider cultural issue that affects their work adversely. Finally, they see supervision and support in schools for teachers as a condition of further change, again, reinforcing the findings from the questionnaire survey presented in chapter 5.

As the teachers in this study construct their teaching and learning processes, they are faced with a blizzard of national, district and school-level initiatives. They attend to these initiatives, but they do so neither equally nor consistently. Not only do they approach improvement in teaching and learning intervention strategies devised at the district level differently from one another, but they also approach them differently according to their strengths and weaknesses in various subject areas. It is the differences or the variation in their responses that stand out and speaks most clearly of the reform. There are, however, some similarities across teachers in how they each respond to the various initiatives and interventions about the impact and prospects of the FCUBE reform on them in the district.

The issue of content coverage is also of real concern to all the teachers interviewed. Their dilemma in respect of coverage seems to relate to personal concerns that they are not teaching enough of the right material and that this might have unanticipated consequences for their pupils. There also seems to be a feeling of inadequacy about what they choose to teach and how they choose to teach it. For these experienced teachers, while these doubts never fully go away, they may be compounded by the system-wide testing that may not make sense in the context of the teachers' classrooms. Unless teachers are convinced that certain facts are essential, that information will not be taught or taught well.

Even when teachers acknowledge the need for support, it is still possible to remain stuck blaming others for not providing it. There is therefore the need to explore ways of moving out of this passive position into taking responsibility for ensuring that teachers get the support and supervision they need. This should be seen as a fundamental shift from being re-active and dependent to being pro-

active concerning one's own support system. Teachers need to individually take stock of their own support system, their stress and how to manage it.

First, a top-down state mandated reform does not seem to open up opportunities for teachers' professional development. Top-down policies seem to serve as lessons in power politics, less motivating to teachers to become more proactive and to take actions to improve their schools. Thus, it appears that building teacher participation in the change process into the reforms might help to motivate teachers.

From the interview data, teachers appear to learn better if they can experience different school cultures, as in the case of Abaa. Therefore, the usual practice of relying on rhetoric to convince teachers of the value of reform by focusing on the rationale and the theory behind such reforms will not suffice. Although beliefs are hard to change, when teachers are intensely engaged with the actual practice of the reform and share the ownership for development, as was in the case of Abaa and Adamu, a change in belief is more likely to occur, and more especially when the messages are tailored to their situations.

Secondly, an important impact of the reforms that may have been overlooked by most policy makers was the change in the teachers involved. For example, all the teachers interviewed expressed some kind of awareness of their own professional development and somehow reflective of their respective past actions. It is these teachers who will provide the continuity and expertise for further reforms if their strengths can be identified and built on. Thus, the criterion for judging whether reforms are successful should be broadened to take into account their effects on teachers' professional development and differentiated according to their positions.

Thirdly, to cope with the dynamic and complex nature of the reform process, the teachers suggested that school leaders should be constantly assessing their progress and the changes taking place as a result of the interaction between the

reform, the school organisation structure, and the school culture and teacher development. There is a need for democratic leadership and widespread participation by teachers in a reform if the desired outcomes are to be achieved.

On the other hand, Mr. Adamu's teaching practices extended beyond his classroom to include fellow teachers in his school, having gained from the experiences of both local and external 'experts' (i.e. those who served on the project team) on the objectives of the reforms, as was the case for Ms. Abaa. Adamu also learnt through his interactions with his pupils as he tried out new teaching strategies. Adua was one of those who had to bear the burden of implementation created by the authorities.

Both Abaa and Adamu, as a result of the FCUBE reform, became more active in the sense that their contributions to their respective schools increased and they grew professionally. However, probably as a result of their different positions and functions in the schools' hierarchies, their individual activisms were different.

6.8: DISCUSSION OF INTERVIEW RESULTS: Teachers' dissatisfaction with the reform seem to focus on the organizational level of the educational system (lack of textbooks and inadequate supervision) prevalent in the district and in their respective school settings, referring to specific reasons to back their expressed feelings. At a more personal level, teachers expressed their involvement in the implementation of the reform at various levels of commitment.

The results of both sets of interviews give a clear message, namely that all the teachers of the sample need and demand a better organization of the reform, and more open acknowledgement and recognition of what they do. They do agree with the reform agenda for improving teaching and learning in schools. Nevertheless, they seem sceptical about its serious implementation, since they hold the view among themselves that they who are responsible for its execution are little informed of its details.

From the teachers' responses, one could say that their shared understanding of the initial issues dealing with the philosophy of the reform, vis-a-vis those of the administrators, is not clear, and that their co-existence with their administrators does not seem to be a positive one in which their needs were understood and catered for. A clear message given by the teachers is that they 'tailored' the innovation according to their own understanding and needs. This tailoring might well lead to a distortion of the rationale of the innovation.

6.8.1: Head Teachers and their Leadership Role

The school head's role in the reform setting is of great importance, as the research reveals. According to the teachers' views the head's role in the reform seems very limited and negative. Only in one case (i.e. Abaa) is the head of the school well aware of the reform programme and very supportive. In all the other cases the head either supports the innovation passively, by not getting involved at all and letting the teacher do whatever he or she wants (i.e. Balua, Alua, Kapiro) or is completely negative as in case Tanko. Aside the case of Abaa's head teacher, it does seem that the head teachers of the other teachers in this study are not seen to be promoting the innovation at all (as exemplified by the case of Adiga, the head teacher of Tanko) since they are not well informed about what is happening in the district.

It is worth noting that nearly all the teachers say that they receive no real or practical help from their head teachers, whilst referring to their own personal effort in all issues concerning the implementation of the reform in their respective schools. Given that head teachers do not appear to be aware of the philosophy of the innovation or even what is going on with the reform implementation, it is understandable that they leave it completely to the teachers to do whatever they want.

6.8.2: The Circuit Supervisor's Role in the Reform

The view about the Circuit Supervisors, which emerged from the interviews, is also very negative. Five out of seven teachers see their Circuit Supervisors as having a negative and non-supportive role in the reform even though they pay regular visits to schools within their respective jurisdiction. In the cases of Abaa and Adamu, the Circuit Supervisor is seen to be supportive. In the cases of Balua and Alua, the Circuit Supervisor has a positive attitude towards the innovation, nevertheless, devoting little time to attending to their real concerns in the circuit area. His priorities seem different, and there is equally little practical help actually provided to the teachers in the circuit. Both Adiga and Tanko state that their Circuit Supervisor gave no practical help about the new demands of the reform and is said to be also indifferent to it. They also see their supervisor, as intimidating and this might be something that prevents them from interacting with him when even they need help. For this reason none of them solicits any practical help or support from the circuit supervisor.

It becomes obvious that the Circuit Supervisor's role is seen as a limited one from the point of view of the teachers. Most of them are not helped and when they are, the help is not what they ask for. Another issue that emerged is that the visits of some Circuit Supervisors to the schools, even though quite frequent, do not seem to be productive to some of the teachers (e.g. Balua, Alua and Kapio). And even more important, there seems to be no real communication between the Supervisors and head teachers as well as the classroom teachers themselves (e.g. Adiga and Tanko).

Teachers want to see that Circuit Supervisors are given clear instructions that inspection issues should relate directly to the improvement of teaching and learning and that there should be strong emphasis on the teaching process in forming judgments (e.g. Adiga). This will enable Circuit Supervisors to give well-written reports to teachers outlining key issues that arise from their main findings, and being specific to each of the schools inspected (e.g. Adiga). Their reports will

also be seen as central to school development and improvement setting clear and achievable targets at which to aim. Teachers also wish to see that Circuit Supervisors can help ensure that strategies for monitoring teachers' work are effective in extending classroom practices.

There seems to be little hope that genuine improvement will come about when inspectors have merely passed on administrative requirements (e.g. Balua, Alua, Kapio, Adiga and Tanko). Teachers may therefore deflect improvement efforts and respond to change in a ritualistic fashion. What teachers' need from supervisors is advice and interaction that can help them develop into more confident teachers e.g. Adiga). What they receive, however, is often bureaucratic, judgmental, and motivated by a desire to control what they do. Simply developing the supervision responsibility to the local or school level is not an adequate solution to this problem, because it cannot be assimilated so that school heads have the requisite skills. Thus resources, not just money and time but also understanding, need to be allocated to reorient the approach of supervisors and train school heads to provide systematic and adequate pedagogical support to teachers.

Even though Mr. Baani is aware of the expressed feelings by the various teachers interviewed about the laxity with which his colleagues handled teachers' issues, he sees his role as both administrative and advisory and thinks teachers need support in various forms to be able to cope with the demands of their work. He argues for continued in-service training for teachers, headteachers and circuit supervisors to be organised in a more collegial and cordial atmosphere where problems could be discussed and experiences shared.

Implementing the FCUBE reform policy of improving quality of teaching and learning in schools depends, in part, on collaborative working between teachers and between teachers and parents and external support services such as circuit supervisors, and facilitators from donor partners. Teachers can collaborate and

support one another in many different ways, both formally and informally, within the classroom and outside of it; but they also need the space to be able to do that.

6.8.3: The Provision of In-service for the Reform

Many teachers recognize that the skills they developed in the past are no longer sufficient to meet their pupils' diverse needs. They see a need for change and seek opportunities to develop their knowledge and repertoire of effective instructional practices. Teachers in general, often seek out professional development opportunities on their own and attempt to apply new knowledge and teaching strategies without the help of others.

More often than not, teachers are unable to successfully implement new ideas. One reason for this is that the methods may be very different from those that teachers have used in the past. Another reason is that teachers have no support (i.e. human or fiscal) from others as they attempt to grow in their knowledge and change their practices. The isolation of teachers is at the heart of the problem. The teachers in this study typically have limited opportunities to work with others that can support them as they learn new ways of teaching. These teachers' views are quite expressive of their concerns as stated in earlier sections.

Not very many teachers had the opportunity to be invited or selected to attend in-service courses. In most of the cases, teachers were selected without consultation or indirectly through informal or limited consultation with head teachers. It turned out that those selected to attend these courses were branded as those belonging to the 'good books' of senior management as alleged by Tanko and as observed from the researcher's notes in the field. The allegation was however dismissed by Mr. Baani as not true arguing that teachers were chosen based on the programmes on offer and the category of teachers required to attend the training.

From the general responses given by some teachers, it can be deduced that there are no guidelines or INSET policy in the district as evidenced above. If there are

any, it simply means teachers are not aware of its existence. Teachers need more specific guidelines about what they should be doing right in the classroom as required by the FCUBE reform. They also need constant and upgraded training with more practical hands-on sessions related to the real problems they face in their classrooms. Teachers want to see their total involvement in the reform implementation process. They therefore see the need for facilitators to be accepting and building on teachers' ideas rather than telling them basically what to do as Alua and Adiga intimated. It was also evident from the teachers' responses that they have needs at the different stages of their careers. This goes to suggest that teachers at different stages of their careers have different INSET needs, and therefore do not have a need to get onto the same kind of courses. Teachers like Abaa and Adamu discussed with the researcher, courses in mathematics and reading and what they had gained from them. Proper guidance from facilitators and supervision must be better organized, and the work of good teachers should be appreciated whilst at the same time providing feedback on observations made during supervision sessions.

6.8.4: Teachers' Beliefs about the Reform

Teachers' beliefs as stated here refer to the level of general satisfaction with which they experience their involvement with the FCUBE reform programme. Their expressed satisfaction is linked to their responses to specific questions posed concerning the implementation of the FCUBE reform. It is important here to state that five of the teachers interviewed (i.e. Balua, Alua, Kapio, Adiga and Tanko) about the FCUBE reform expressed their reservation about its implementation. A distinction is however made between their satisfaction with the overall rationale of the programme and with its implementation.

Teachers' personal beliefs seem to be the driving force for all their effort in the implementation of the FCUBE. They depend on their own personal beliefs and attitude towards the programme since no common guidelines seem to exist. As we have already seen, teachers' beliefs about the innovation proved to be strongly

associated with their role in the innovation. i.e. in the category of participating in training activities, and reviewing their teaching and learning materials. They are much less engaged in planning with colleagues, discussing new ideas with colleagues, integrating curriculum, or changing their pupils' learning approaches therefore suggesting less involvement in the types of activities that take into account the objectives of the reform. Collegiality, as demonstrated by the findings of these interviews, is therefore not seen as an option.

Within the theme of beliefs the researcher includes the teacher's attitude towards the innovation, towards the value of improving the quality of teaching and learning in primary schools, and towards the implementation of the FCUBE reform.

Firstly, it is of high importance to state that all the teachers interviewed believe in the FCUBE reform for improving teaching and learning in basic education schools as an innovation that will, eventually help the Ghanaian educational system. However, they express their serious concerns as to whether this implementation as it is happening so far, will promote this change. All of them believe in the value of improving teaching and learning, though they seem to view this value differently, mainly according to their level of involvement. For example, in the case of Abaa, she believes that using the right teaching methods at the appropriate time can help pupils to learn, and also promote high skills in pupils and so forth.

Teachers feel subjected to 'pre-packaged solutions' to 'individualized' problems, rather than helping them to empower themselves to have greater control and responsibility for their professional lives. There are no opportunities for the full play of rigour and intelligence by teachers. Although many of the ideas have some appeal, translating them into practice apparently has less. Belief that real changes can or will occur is limited to perhaps a third of the teachers interviewed (e.g. Abaa and Adamu). In the case of Alua, everything seems gloomy.

6.8.5: Teachers' Personal Concerns

All the teachers interviewed are involved in the reform programme and therefore experience certain personal concerns and anxieties regarding their involvement in the FCUBE reform. Some experience high levels of concern, others lower, according to their personal characteristics and the situation in their respective schools and circuits. Teachers are further demoralized by lack of recognition and support from their administrators.

It is obvious that teachers experience stress and anxiety when involved in the reform mainly due to the lack of support and the poor implementation of the programme, as they themselves argue. Some teachers have equally found textbooks and revised syllabuses lacking. It is most unfortunate that the textbooks in use at the time of the follow-up interview by most teachers were those designed for the old curriculum.

The teachers' responses on textbook use suggest that textbooks are an integral part of everyday life in Ghanaian classrooms. Teachers make extensive use of textbooks. They rely on these books as guides, paths, and resources. Textbooks are sources of information and serve as reading assignments. In any case, they would like to feel that textbooks should be friendly. Whether or not a teacher views textbooks as tools, resources, guides or controlled paths depends upon the individual's background and comfort level with that particular content area.

6.9: CONCLUSIONS: The interview data point broadly to two other themes: the experience of supervision and experiencing the content of the reform. Tensions seem to exist between classroom teachers and senior management concerning the management structures with which to manipulate the selection of teachers to attend INSET courses. There was a tremendous amount of bad feeling expressed about senior management as well as feelings of low morale among teachers concerning the support that they are given. When teachers were asked about the significance of their involvement in the innovation, it is remarkable to note that

their responses were similar. A general finding is that almost all the teachers interviewed have a lot of concerns about their involvement in the FCUBE. Some of them expressed openly their fears and beliefs, providing the researcher with certain serious recommendations concerning the successful implementation of the programme.

The teachers' voice is being expressed here in their own words. The approach of senior management to the initiation and implementation of INSET for reform was not seen to be in keeping with making teacher development an explicit priority. It was not seen as combining action relevant to teachers' priorities to enhance the reform provision. From the other side, the teachers seem to see more immediate, internal and often external priorities being placed upon them first. Teachers have therefore experienced increasing pressures to respond to major external initiations over the reform period. Facilitators were not willing and able to listen and learn, as much as talk and offer suggestions, but instead imposed ideas on teachers.

The findings seem to suggest, repeatedly, the need for attention to be given to the following attributes of organizational arrangements: supportive and shared leadership, collective creativity, shared values and visions, supportive conditions and shared personal practice. The data clearly demonstrate that teachers are people from multiple constituencies at all levels and therefore need to work collaboratively and continually together, engaging in reflective dialogue, in which they can conduct conversations about their pupils and teaching and learning, identifying related issues and problems they face as they strive to improve upon their work. This chapter therefore provided an overview of how teachers feel as they try to improve upon teaching and learning in schools and both this result and that of the questionnaire in chapter five will be discussed in the next chapter

In conclusion, the discussion in this chapter may be synthesised through the development of seven stereotypical, ideal-type responses of teachers to the Ghanaian situation and the reform process. It is possible to speculate from the

teachers' responses that if all the teachers in the survey study had been interviewed, they could individually fit into one of the seven sub-categories of teacher profiles listed in Table 6.3 as shown below. Teachers of the seven 'types' will therefore need different approaches for the promotion of the reform, even though it is acknowledged that individual teachers rarely fit stereotypes, and more usually demonstrate aspects of all the seven stereotypes. What is important, however, is that teachers' different views and perspectives are taken into account by policy-makers

Table 6.3: Stylised Profile of the Interview Sample Teachers in Navrongo District

Basic Category	Sub-category	Attitude To reform	Representative
Young Male Teacher (YMT)	Frustrated	Feels left out	Tanko
Older Male Teachers (OMT)	Sceptic	Expresses doubt	Adiga
	Negotiator	Blends new and old methods	Balua
	Glosser	Everything seems familiar	Alua
	Determined	Enthusiastic	Adamu
Older Female Teachers (OFT)	Preserver	Reluctant to change	Kapio
	Committed	Proactive and enthusiastic	Abaa

The characteristics of each teacher profile is explained briefly as follows:

The Frustrated: does not understand objectives of the reform; receives no support from anywhere; deflects improvement efforts; responds to reform through familiar activities; expresses genuine fear about intimidation from superiors.

The Sceptic: expresses doubt about objectives of reforms; worries about lack of involvement; not sure if reforms promote pupil learning; fears elements of the curriculum are misguided; uncertain about new approaches to teaching and

learning; does not oppose reform but rather responds through familiar activities; need more support rather than criticisms.

The Negotiators: re-examine their beliefs about teaching and learning; see parallels between old and new approaches; unsure of what they know and what more to learn; realize possibilities for improved teaching and learning in schools; feel their efforts go misunderstood and unsupported; have to deal with time pressures between covering old content and teaching in new ways; and do not manage to cope with the reform practices in the way expected.

The Glosser: sees every thing new as justifying his or her extant thinking and practices; responses are more ritualistic; pedagogical comfort provides no compelling reason either to question his/her views or to make profound changes; teaching is didactic and learning passive; glosses over differences between ideas and between reforms and his/her practices; maintains reform talk but is conventional in practice.

The Determined: think aside from their textbook knowledge; have a sense to achieve; develop awareness of their own development and critical of their past practices; constant quest for new knowledge; ready to share ideas with others; are seemingly proactive concerning support.

The Preservers: obediently carrying prescriptions; attitude of "it's been our practice;" operate by routines and rules; have faded interests and pursue other opportunities to learn; speak in generalities; emphasise procedures than conceptual understanding; going for right answers more than multiple responses; choose what they wish to teach; do not question their practices nor learn more to make substantive changes;

The Committed: strives to acquire holistic view of reform; differentiates and reflects on previous and present experiences; engages in open discussions with

colleagues; active and wanting to use newly acquired knowledge; makes comparison to arrive at new understanding; and willing to share ideas with others.

The next chapter discusses the findings of chapters 5 and 6 brought together to try to unpack the educational issues that influence policy and the teachers' practices as evidenced by the empirical data in the case study, with emphasis on how applicable theory is to practice in order to attempt suggestions relevant to the research questions.

CHAPTER SEVEN: DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

7.0: INTRODUCTION: The starting point for this thesis was a small-scale and exploratory study to explore how primary teachers in a district in Ghana perceive their situation and in particular their experiences of the support provided for the implementation of the FCUBE reform objective of improving teaching and learning. In view of this, the broad research question was framed as; 'What are the views of primary teachers in disadvantaged schools in a district in Ghana on their professional situation, and how do they understand and view the FCUBE reform?'

The study considers the perspectives of teachers on their professional situation and their practices within the broader context of the FCUBE reform in the Ghanaian education system, using specific experiences of teachers in Navrongo district as illustrative examples of a more general picture. Ball (1994) suggests that '*... the teacher is increasingly an absent present (sic) in the discourses of education policy, an object rather than a subject of discourse.*' Sykes (1990) supports this view suggesting that teachers are required to implement policies, even though they are unlikely to have been involved in their formulation. This study has shown that teachers' experiences and understandings of policy change in the Ghanaian context are influenced by the contexts in which they work. However, contrary to current existing teaching practices in schools, teachers in this study are required by the FCUBE reform to change both themselves and what they do in order to meet specifications laid down by policymakers who have little knowledge of the contexts in which they work.

In this chapter I aim to discuss the research findings and to suggest answers to the four research questions outlined in chapter 1 and to relate these to some of the literature. I organise the findings under the research questions and within each research question I have indicated key themes that emerged from the data.

7.1: CONDITIONS OF TEACHING AND TEACHERS' VIEWS ON THEM

In chapters 5 and 6, I identified a number of factors that appear to influence the conditions of teaching in poorly resourced and disadvantaged schools in one district in Ghana. These factors provide an answer to the first research question, 'What are the conditions of teaching in poorly resourced and disadvantaged schools in Navrongo district and how are these viewed by primary teachers?' The questionnaire survey and teacher interviews show that teachers' views of the conditions of teaching in poorly resourced and disadvantaged schools in Navrongo district relate broadly to resourcing teachers and school environments.

Resourcing teachers and their school environments: As was observed in the teacher survey and interviews, the findings from at least 90% of the teachers point to lack of resources as an impediment to their effective work and implementation of the educational reform. When one considers resources, funding comes to mind most immediately, and indeed virtually everyone would agree that without monetary support, most school change efforts would be destined to fail. For example, Crandall and Loucks (1983:24) caution against '*rhetorical leadership without resources*'. Money is the master resource that allows one to purchase other resources such as staff-time, materials, and equipment (Miles & Louis, 1996).

Teachers expressed the need for improvement in their conditions of service (salaries, pensions, transport and travel claims, hospital claims) and opportunities for career development in their work. Findings from open-ended questions, and particularly in their interviews, are a further explanation, nevertheless, corroborating those from the survey concerning teachers' morale, motivation, salary, recognition and resources. The pursuit of qualifications as an end in itself or the copious provision of in-service courses without doing something about the other conditions (i.e. salaries, motivation, career prospects, social status, etc) that affect recruitment, career profiles and teachers' professional performance, is not adequate to facilitate teacher change. The findings of this study also corroborate those of Davies (1994) on teachers in Ghana, and Alphonse (2000) on Tanzanian

teachers, both of whom observed that when teachers are poorly remunerated, ill treated, and inadequately supported for career advancement and professional growth, they might not offer their services at the most optimal levels. The finding also confirms Pryor's (1998) observation that teachers barely survive beyond two weeks in Ghana with the kind of salaries they are paid. Nevertheless, teacher change is a key requirement for successful reform.

Evidence from the interview data highlights the increasing frustration of teachers working under poor conditions of service and unable to ensure adequate delivery of an overloaded curriculum when they were also under pressure to ensure proper coverage of the basics in literacy, numeracy and problem solving for pupils in schools. They therefore feel stretched so far by their new responsibilities that they are almost torn apart with the workload and the strain. Examples to demonstrate these feelings among some teachers are provided by Balua, Kapio, Adiga and Tanko. These findings match an earlier observation made by Gross et al (1970) who identified the incompatibility of organisational arrangements and loss of teacher motivation as significant factors that affect teachers' role in educational implementation efforts. In this study, there is ample evidence that there has been a change in the curriculum mandate without a corresponding change in the rest of the educational system in ways that support teachers. Significant changes in teaching and learning require significant changes in the entire education system to support the work of teachers.

The lack of sufficient planning time was often mentioned as a factor that undermined the implementation process. From field notes, it was observed that teachers described being exhausted and overwhelmed from the long hours needed to plan and prepare their lessons. Others resented the fact that they were expected to spend their personal time working without any compensation. This finding of the study is supported by Hargreaves (1995) who contends that time is the enemy of freedom that presses down on teachers' fulfilment of their wishes and confounds the implementation of change. Earlier research by Barber and

Brighouse (1992) also emphasises that even though teachers accept and indeed welcome increased responsibilities, they find it difficult to cope with extra work without some assistance.

The daily demand placed on rural teachers to provide several hours of classroom instruction, assess pupil learning, plan and communicate with parents, and address the often extraordinary problems associated with educating pupils who reside in extremely impoverished rural communities mitigate against teachers reinventing their roles and redesigning education in their spare time. Perhaps, the most critical resource to provide is sufficient planning and preparation time for teachers during the long vacation break as illustrated in Table 5.53. Very few positive comments were observed for the reform implementation efforts. About the only ones were teachers saying they appreciated that during workshops, *'lessons were always outlined for the teacher'* and *'materials are provided so that planning becomes easy'*.

Ultimately, sufficient planning and preparation time for teachers seems a costly resource since it demands the payment of travel and overnight allowances and, therefore least likely to be provided. To be sure, substantial monetary resources have to be committed to develop the training sessions for implementing the reform agenda. The district must also expend substantial effort and financial resources to support implementation through training experiences and materials and follow-up support from the district training teams, as intimated by Adiga and Kapio.

A close second, in terms of needed resources, was materials and equipment. Teachers mainly wanted curriculum materials, sample lessons, books, and syllabuses as voiced by Balua, Alua, Kapio, Adiga and Tanko. Some teachers noted that they had to spend their own money on materials needed in order to do their work effectively. In some other cases, as noted in my field notes, the comments on materials had much to do with the need for more timely delivery and fine-tuning of available materials rather than the absence of materials to support

the implementation process. For instance, teachers talked about the new syllabuses being photocopied since these were not enough to be given to each teacher or the manuals being frequently modified and confusing to use.

In any event, the teaching skills needed to meet the demands of the FCUBE reform entail, at the very least, a professionalism understood as theoretically and practically proficient by the teachers, based on their professional independence and ability to take informed decisions, whilst anticipating the consequences of such decisions and critically assessing the actions they take. It emerged from the teachers' responses that the propensity and capacity to respond to reforms within the education system in the district are unequally distributed in terms of teacher experiences, qualifications, resources and relevance of staff development and in-service needs. These inequalities result in very different enactments of the objectives of the reform in different school locations within the district as there are varied projects spread across project schools in the district and ultimately responding to the different interests of the various donor partners and the MOE respectively. It is evident from this study therefore that formal changes cannot guarantee better practice where the policy makers appear to take little account of the context in which teachers work, a finding that corroborates that of Dalin et al (1994) that educational reform is a local issue and that effective system linkages are essential for school improvement.

7.2:TEACHERS' UNDERSTANDING OF THE FCUBE REFORM: This section provides an answer to the second research question, 'What are the current understandings of primary teachers in Navrongo district regarding the FCUBE reform?' by discussing how primary teachers in this study understand the FCUBE reform. The research evidence reviewed in this study demonstrates that ill conceived and misunderstood reforms (Fullan, 1993a; 1993b; Gross et al, 1970; Miles, 1987; Wang and Gennari, 1983) create a mismatch between the intended reform and the reform in practice leading to a performance gap (Zaltman and Duncan (1997). This research evidence is captured and corroborated by the

responses of teachers in this study. The primary teachers' responses to how they understand the FCUBE reform can be divided into three broad themes: i) varied sources of information; ii) project fragmentation; and iii) issues of communication.

i) Varied Sources of Information: An important finding of this study is that the teachers believe that the FCUBE reform is a worthwhile change in Ghana's education system and therefore accept its value as a programme that will help improve education in the country. On the whole they think that the reform should be widely adopted since it is likely to help improve upon teaching and learning in primary schools as expressed by Adamu and Abaa. However, when they expand on what they actually do in their own schools and classrooms (Alua and Balua), one realizes a variation in their understanding of the rationale of the educational reform. This parallels findings by Torres (2000) of Latin American countries that have introduced educational reforms in their educational systems. Equally important is the fact that they appeared unclear about the rationale and the philosophy behind the reform and, therefore, continue to teach as before. The responses of teachers like Balua, Alua, Kapio, Adiga and Tanko demonstrate this view. This finding also parallels Rudduck's (1988) and Tisher and Wideen's (1990) argument that for teachers to understand change, they have to understand what they are trying to achieve, why they are trying to achieve it and how. It would therefore appear that teachers in this study should not be treated as passive recipients of messages, but that the rationale for the innovation should be made clear and easy for them to understand.

This study revealed that teachers received information about the FCUBE reform from varied sources. The questionnaire survey showed that 41 out of the 64 respondents had heard about the reform which leaves us with 23 respondents, (i.e. about one third), who appeared not to have heard of the reform from any source. Moreover, the evidence is that, of those who had heard about the reform, about half (51%) were informed through the media rather than by the official channels of

communication such as in-service, initial teacher training, Ghana Education Service, and the MOE. It could therefore be inferred from the results that the official channels of communication of educational issues to teachers in this study have not been effectively and efficiently used. This suggests that teachers in the district had little opportunity to discuss the official reform document, and that this lack of access had implications for their understanding of the reform. This appears to have made the contexts and content of the change envisaged by the policy makers to be varied making it difficult for the teachers in this study to know what to do, or where to start.

The situation as it exists, reveals a high degree of teachers' personal meaning within the FCUBE reform. Teachers seem to have their own understanding of the innovation, its rationale and content, that which is not necessarily the same as the one set out in the official policy document. Both the questionnaire results and teachers' interviews suggest that the rationale of the innovation as well as other decisions concerning the FCUBE reform were not explicitly communicated to teachers in this study. This leads to a possible conclusion that the innovation that is implemented might not be the one planned. Even though the prevailing literature suggests that innovations rarely happen exactly as planned, the situation in the study area might be even more confusing since each teacher may give a different meaning to it. The administrators of the reform need to know what the teachers are thinking about it so as to plan for a small degree of diversity in its implementation process.

This lack of information suggests that there is no systematic process by which primary teachers at least in disadvantaged schools are helped to make sense of the FCUBE reform as curriculum policy. This is not surprising in that policy in Ghana is often considered enacted by virtue of its formulation (Fobih et al, 1999). Furthermore, as the policy text moves through the various levels, from the MOE at the national level through to the district or school level, different sets of values seem to operate. At the school level, for instance, practical issues become more

important for teachers than the rhetoric of policy. A gap therefore exists between the reform and teachers' existing practices in classrooms.

ii) Issues of Project Fragmentation: The study also revealed that most teachers are familiar with the education reforms, but their understanding of the various interventions by the different donor agencies and the MOE convey different messages that are not based on the real issues of '*improving upon teaching and learning*' in schools as envisaged by the reform package. Their understanding and interpretation of the FCUBE reform seem to be influenced by the increase in the number of interventions in the district which has led to policy fragmentation, resulting in conflicting or duplicated approaches, distortions of spending priorities, and uncertain sustainability of outcomes and benefits from the donor agencies who subscribed to the policy (Quansah, 2000). Due to the lack of explicit policy and practical support to the teachers, it seems that they feel alone in this effort. This reveals a high degree of the teachers' personal meaning within the FCUBE reform setting. The teachers therefore have their own understanding of the reform, its rationale and content, which is not necessarily the same as the official one, as set out in the policy document. This is more likely to result in a mismatch between the intended reform and teachers' practices (Wang & Gennari, 1983; Zaltman & Duncan (1997). The teachers' views on the reform as small projects goes to reemphasise the point made earlier that their access to policy level information about the process is limited. The education policy change is therefore no simple process, as messages are reconstructed based on teachers' experiences and interpretations (Scott, 2000).

The teachers interviewed appeared uncertain about what they do and why they do it (Rudduck, 1991; Herriot and Gross, 1979) admitting that they have never been informed about the aims and objectives of the reform. As a result, some of them had difficulties in realizing whether what they did in the classroom matched the intended rationale behind the reform. The literature suggests that the rationale of any reform programme should be explicitly communicated to the teachers

involved in its implementation early on (Vandenberghe, 1984, Rudduck, 1991, Fullan, 1993a). In this study, this explicitness appears to be missing, thus leading to the conclusion that the teachers mostly used their own competence and knowledge to practise what is expected of them, without being directed by the officially stated policy guidelines or rationale. Additional arguments against a project approach can be likened to what Ratcliffe and Macrae (1999) view to *'include lack of national or district ownership (Dalin et al, 1994), managerial overload through servicing funding agency missions, lack of flexibility in adjusting to changing policy environments and a tendency to create 'islands of excellence' (Verspoor, 2003).* There appears to be the subordination of national policies, as stated earlier on, to broad approaches to development of the kind that sector wide approaches appear to offer through both bilateral and multilateral influences of donors on national policies.

The failure by both the MOE and its implementation agencies and donor partners to focus on operational details of the reform seems to have contributed to a phenomenon which is evident in some of the case study schools, namely that teachers are using the language of the reform without making any change to their classroom practices as exemplified by Kapio and Alua. The teachers interviewed are very aware that they have neither the skills nor the time to perform the duties advocated by the FCUBE reform, and seem to view the reform as initiated by politicians who are not fully cognizant of the realities of schooling - having all the features of top-down reform. There appears to be uncertainty and confusion among the teachers as they attempt to understand the relationship between many of the seemingly unrelated reform interventions such as the QUIPS, WSD, and Link project. There also appears to be an absence of a clear policy direction, an innovation overload, and a fear that there will be further ad hoc initiatives.

It would also appear that, the curriculum reforms spelt out in the FCUBE document are mostly restricted to modification in textbooks or giving new names to old practices which worsens both the 'instructional system' and the 'learning

milieu'. Certain reform topics and measures have been perceived by teachers as particularly disruptive and threatening: the incorporation of constructive pedagogy without teachers being given the necessary training or even information, thus increasing the generation gap between the younger (Tanko) and older teachers (Adiga & Balua) and the insistence on matters such as the 'emphasis on learning' or the 'new role' of the teacher as a 'learning facilitator'. The MOE (1996) acknowledges that the 'quality of instruction' in public schools was deteriorating, but the education system has not responded sufficiently to the problems outlined (Gyasi, 2003; Dramani, 2003).

The data from this study suggest that teachers appear to be working in an environment that suffers from a lack of goal consensus, hence they continue to do what they feel comfortable with, and in most cases, teaching as they taught before. Certain aspects of the teaching malaise are directly related to the educational reform process, not only to its content and the inflated agenda of proposed changes but especially to the way in which it is designed, presented and implemented. As the research of Pelletier (1991), Dyer and Choksi (2002), Hoopers (1998), Dalin et al (1994) and Verspoor (2003) showed, teachers are the '*missing voices*' in the reform movement and that most reform efforts are removed from the realities of the classroom. A conclusion deriving from the teachers' interviews is that, if guidelines were more concrete and related directly to classroom practice, teachers might feel more confident in implementing the reform objectives.

At the same time, the primary teachers in this research appear to support the philosophy behind the FCUBE, i.e. '*improving teaching and learning*' in schools, suggesting that this basically positive orientation of the teachers could be taken into account by policy makers to try to support and maintain its successful implementation. The findings demonstrate that the prior experiences of both older male and older female in the teacher sample interviewed are of a teaching style that is authoritarian and content focused, and hence their resistance to change to

more progressive methods as advocated by the reform. Older teachers like Balua, Alua, Kapio, and Adiga seem to be shaped by the culture of the schools in which they were taught as pupils and learned to teach as apprentices with a tendency towards conserving the status quo. Their defensive tendencies and even their defence of the old model have thus become stronger. It is therefore open to question whether teacher educators and teacher education programmes can overcome the deep-seated ideas that these older teachers hold because of their accumulated knowledge about schools and their roles in them.

iii) Issues of Communication: Drawing from an in-depth study of a small number of teachers in a district in the USA, Spillane and Jennings (1997:449) argue that systemically aligned policies may be effective in '*surface-level*' features of the system, but perhaps less effective in '*difficult-to-reach*' dimensions of classroom practice (i.e. task and discourse). Their study found that teachers interpreted expectations from aligned instructional policies differently depending on the beliefs, knowledge, and dispositions with which they conceptualized their task. Policy designs, the authors conclude, will stand a better chance of reaching teachers' understandings of their task and thus of changing difficult-to-reach layers of practice when they explicitly address teachers as learners from policy. The experiences of Alua, Kapio and Adiga in this study demonstrate that their understanding and interpretation of the FCUBE policy in Navrongo district are no different from the findings of Spillane and Jennings. The FCUBE policy texts appear to contain '*contradictions, inconsistencies and unfinished arguments*' Scott (2000).

A number of problems with the FCUBE reform have been identified. The process adopted by the MOE tends to separate policymaking from policy implementation since the ministry understands both as distinct but sequentially related activities. The teachers interviewed talked about communication problems concerning what is expected of them, and between administrators and themselves. From the teachers' responses, one could say that their understanding of the initial issues

dealing with the philosophy of the reform, vis a vis those of the administrators, is not clear, and that their relationships with their administrators does not seem to be a positive one.

There are also a variety of concepts explaining the continuous adaptation of education policy as it gets interpreted and reshaped at various policy levels and in different arenas. Raab (1994:11-12) sees educational bureaucrats and teachers acting as filters for the policy that is being transformed into programmes and practice. He does not believe these people act as mere pawns, but suggests they contest the policy from a variety of historical developments and contexts. If policy is read as text by different people, (i.e. the language of policy) it is more likely that they would interpret it in different ways and this might have divergent effects resulting from their understanding of it. Cobb (1988) asserts that different readers decode text in different ways, so they construct different meanings, depending on the context in which they read the text. This appears to be the case of primary teachers interviewed in this study who had information that converged about the reforms from different sources.

To conclude this section, it can be stated that, teachers' understandings of reformers' proposals are shaped by a variety of factors above and beyond the policy texts they read. This also includes the context in which teachers learn, the ideas and knowledge they bring to their encounters with policy texts, and the discourse communities in which they are immersed. It can therefore be argued that for teachers in this study to learn and understand from the FCUBE educational reform policy they need support on more practical hands-on activities, the clarification of policy issues, open discussions and meaningful conversation among all those involved in the policy implementation process. The lack of teachers' continuous interaction with planners of the FCUBE reform has led to their passively absorbing and implementing some uniform and fixed visions of the policy. It appears that the teacher still remains subservient and passive, and one who is simply a channel for instruction, one who hands on what he or she receives,

reacts to orders and rules, performs a lifelong routine mechanical task imposed from above in the solitary confinement of a classroom with no contact between equals and with no right to participate or be consulted.

7.3: THE NATURE AND LEVEL OF SUPPORT FOR TEACHERS

This section discusses the issues arising from the findings in answer to the third research question, 'How have primary teachers in Navrongo district been supported in their work following the reform and what are their views of this support?' Data from the questionnaire survey and teacher interviews pointed to four themes as follows: i) external professional support; ii) circuit supervisors and school heads; iii) in-service training; and iv) teacher collaboration and collegiality.

There is abundant evidence attesting to the importance of support structures and practices that influence the success of reform efforts (e.g., Havelock, 1971; McLaughlin, 1990; Fullan, 1991a; Hopkins et al, 1994). The concept of 'support for the reform' includes related concepts such as policy (Fullan, 1991a; Darling-Hammond, 1995), professional development (Joyce et al, 1989; Little, 1993), organizational climate or culture (Barth, 1990), leadership (Heller & Firestone, 1995), and resources (Havelock, 1971). Virtually, every text on educational reform in developing countries (Craig et al, 1998; Dyer and Choksi, 2002; Hoopers, 1998; Pryor, 1998; Pryor & Lubisi, 2002; Tisher & Wideen, 1990; Verspoor, 2003) points to the fact that adequate training and continued professional support is essential to success. From the data in chapters five and six, four broad sources of support seem to have emerged following the analysis of the teachers' perceptions of their experiences about the progress made towards implementing the FCUBE reform programme. The three broad categories of support deduced are:

i) External professional support: included under this heading is a discussion on professional development and in-service provided from outside the school setting as a source of external support.

External in-service programmes continue to have a very significant effect on the teaching profession. Respondents were asked to indicate to what extent they thought that recent in-service priorities had been driven by external legislative demand or through internally generated issues. It appears from the teachers' responses that recent priorities (e.g. in the project schools) had been driven exclusively by external demands. This is evidenced by the responses of Balua, Abaa, and Adamu all of whom attended organised workshops led by the donor partners.

When teachers were asked to indicate their professional development needs, the item that received top priority was: to become acquainted with the latest developments in the field of teaching. As illustrated in Table 5.57, all teachers in the sample have a strong feeling of dissatisfaction regarding staff development and individual teacher in-service provision, with all the YTs being dissatisfied or very dissatisfied. Since INSET is seen as a necessary and potentially powerful part of the continual learning and professional development of teachers (Bradley, 1991; Eraut et al, 1987; Hargreaves, 1994b) teachers expressed the importance of obtaining curriculum content and methodology that they can readily adapt into their present teaching practices. Not only is there a dissatisfaction among teachers about INSET provision but also the question of how relevant these services are tailored to their individual needs in particular and to staff development prospects in the district in general.

As Crandall and Loucks (1983:11) conclude, '*new practices entailing a significant amount of change live or die by the amount of personal assistance they receive.*' In their discussion of the workshops provided, all the teachers interviewed identify the lack of concrete examples of ways to implement the

reform programme in classrooms as a problem. Another issue of concern was the absence of timely, and concrete feedback from the trainers, as for example the teacher Alua. At times, the workshop teams were even described as insensitive or out of touch with the specific needs of teachers and pupils at a particular school site (Alua and Tanko). Adamu also expressed frustration with the conflicting advice or mixed messages some teachers received from the workshop facilitators.

Other reactions about professional development were mixed. Whereas some teachers described their facilitators as very effective, responsive, and helpful, others described them as ineffectual, unresponsive, and uninformed. The opinions of Abaa and Adamu are examples of unfavourable voices to the workshop facilitators. However, Abaa and Adamu also cited externally provided professional development opportunities as a positive aspect of implementing the FCUBE programme. Many comments were directed at training or lack thereof, from the in-service organisers or facilitators.

Although the findings of this study are based on teacher views, the results are not unexpected given the theoretical and empirical literature that suggests that professional development of staff, particularly teachers, is crucial for any successful reform implementation (Bodilly, 1996; Crandall & Loucks, 1983; Little, 1993; Loius et al, 1996). The qualitative data obtained from the teachers' responses to open-ended items in the questionnaires and the teacher interviews indicated that many teachers viewed professional development, especially training, as insufficient or inadequate. These results mirror those of Pryor and Stuart (1997) who suggested a need for more focused training of teachers in nearly all of the reform programmes. Apparently, teachers still perceive a need for more externally provided professional development in their schools.

The teacher Kapio suggested that the workshop training teams do not continue to provide training and ongoing support to schools implementing the programme. Alua corroborates her view. The importance of exchanging information with

teacher colleagues from other schools and of obtaining confirmation that present teaching practices are appropriate, were talked about by Abaa. It should be noted that teachers like Alua, Kapio and Adiga were far more reluctant to obtain curriculum content and teaching methodology that would lead to major changes in their teaching practices.

Perhaps, the general results of the findings point to the issue that provision of sufficient planning and preparation time is the most critical resource for teachers during the long vacation break (as expressed by 59% of teachers in chapter 5). Ultimately, this is the most costly resource and, therefore least likely to be provided.

The expanding literature on what effective in-service education for teachers looks like reflects the dominant concerns of northern or western researchers working in developed countries. Teachers working in economically developing countries are constrained by a somewhat different set of circumstances, have different perspectives on the work they do, and need different in-service provision to those in developed countries (Johnson et al, 2000; Hoopers, 1998; Pryor & Lubisi, 2002). It is not therefore surprising that ideas on teacher development and change that account for the northern or western experience advocated by donor partners might be poorly matched to the needs of teachers in the Ghanaian context.

The present research findings appear to confirm those of Johnson et al (2000:20) that, *'current northern or western ideas, adopted by the donors, about in-service provision (e.g. in the case of Ghana, WSD, LLS, ILS, Link Community, QUIPS, etc), necessarily reflect the desire of teacher trainers to be effective in helping teachers to change what they do'*. However, this approach can be a key weakness. For in rushing to help teachers behave differently, little time has been spent on asking the question, 'why do teachers behave as they do?' Too much time has been spent on, 'how can I make them behave otherwise?' There has been a pre-occupation with moulding teachers' behaviour and thereby *'researchers have*

missed, by default, the need to understand teachers' un-transformed behaviour first' (Johnson et al, 2000). Johnson et al (2000) equally submit that, *'Teachers often know of far more pedagogic strategies than they actually use'*. It can therefore be argued here that there is the need to improve educational practice and knowledge that enables teaching decisions that are grounded in evidence rather than hunches.

To conclude this section on external professional support opportunities to teachers, one could say that,

" ... nothing has promised so much and has been so frustratingly wasteful as the thousands of workshops and conferences which led to no significant change in practice when teachers returned to their classrooms" (Fullan, 1992b). In-service is one of the basic priorities of teachers in the district, but it is not having the impact it should. The knock-on effect is that many pupils are failing to benefit from the training their teachers have received over the reform period spanning from between 1996 to date.

ii) Circuit Supervisors and School Heads: Circuit Supervisors appear to retain a relatively unchallenged position of authority towards teachers as long as the former performed their work according to the MOE requirements. It appears that Circuit Supervisors find dialogue with teachers difficult because the latter are said to be either interested in being merely disruptive or argue their point with great intolerance. From my field notes from a workshop situation, both teachers and circuit supervisors seemed reticent, if not shy, to get involved in open discussions. However, once either teachers or the Circuit Supervisors crossed a certain threshold, such an opinion was presented with forceful imposition on the other's view.

As described in chapter five of this thesis, all teachers are supposed to be regularly inspected and appraised at least three times a year by a Circuit Supervisor and the school is also inspected regularly. The Circuit Supervisor appraises the teacher in

any subject of the curriculum at any time either at a pre-arranged or an unannounced visit into the classroom. Therefore, the teacher has to present a lesson to the Inspector in order to let him evaluate his or her job. In the FCUBE reform programme, this pressure and lack of communication between teacher and Circuit Supervisor was emphasised by the teachers in all the chances they were given throughout this research to express their opinion.

This is evidenced by their expression of high stress levels as indicated in Table 5.6, and which was further substantiated by Adiga, the head teacher. Some teachers feel that their work with the proposed methods and curriculum is not appreciated by the Circuit Supervisors, and is not even given a chance to be evaluated by them. Hence, they feel disappointed and believe their involvement in the innovation has no meaning and therefore acquires no merit in the eyes of the evaluators. This feeling was expressed by Alua, and Tanko as discouraged teachers, and summed by Adiga the head teacher, in their statements in chapter six. Mr. Baani, the Circuit Supervisor conceded to the need for openness among workshop facilitators and teachers so as to give teachers the confidence they need to be able to do their work satisfactorily.

This study has revealed that the school head's role is crucial within an innovation. This is demonstrated by the teachers' expressions of the high influence of their head teachers on their teaching practices as illustrated in Table 5.37, and their wish for the head teacher to define their INSET needs also illustrated in Table 5.54. Nias et al (1992) in their work with primary teachers concluded that, '*Head teachers were the significant figures; all the other leaders were dependent upon them*'. In contrast with the positive feeling about the crucial role of the head teacher by teachers', both the young and some of the older teachers appear to view their head teachers as persons who are not able to offer them real help at least on the organisational level of their involvement in the reform programme as stated in chapter six by Balua and Tanko. It will be recalled that Balua felt he was held back due to his limited knowledge in the new approaches to teaching the revised

curriculum and that he does not feel competent enough as before to continue to teach as was the case previously (see section 6.1.1). In only one case in the interviews did a teacher (i.e. Abaa) express very positive feelings about the involvement of her school head.

Drawing from observations in my field notes, the main reasons seem to be the head's lack of knowledge, information and experience concerning the FCUBE reform as admitted by Adiga. However, some of the teachers admitted that their school heads, although could not help with or advise them on the practicalities of the reform, nevertheless, tried to promote change on the personal level, offering them emotional support and understanding. Tanko also expressed very negative feelings towards Adiga, his head teacher, whose lack of information about the working of the reform had an adverse effect on his work.

The findings of the study therefore attest to the important role of the head teacher in the school setting which tallies with the existing literature; *'if the head is dictatorial and traditional, all our attempts to change will be doomed to failure'* (Salisbury & Conner, 1994). However, even though the findings of this study are important regarding the involvement of the head teacher as the manager of the school in the reform process, it appears that either the status of the head teacher is not high in the teachers' eyes, or has collapsed as far as the reform is concerned, since the head is unable to act as a real school administrator. In other words, either these teachers in any case held a rather low opinion of their heads, or alternatively, their experience of his reaction to the FCUBE reform was disappointing, since he did not appear to be able or willing to provide the necessary support they need.

A further implication is that a priority for the FCUBE implementation should be the INSET for the head teachers, even before the INSET for the teachers. And as stated by Nias et al (1992), *"They (the head teachers) need to be able to persuade others to share that sense of mission. This involves securing the commitment of other staff (...) to the beliefs and values that the individual head believes to be the*

most important for his/ her school". Short INSET courses should be regularly provided for the heads in order firstly, to keep them briefly informed about the recent developments in the education system and secondly, to keep them briefed about the rationale, and the developments within the FCUBE reform (Fullan, 1992a). The issue here is to have them as positive supporters of the reform programme, by keeping them adequately informed. It is important for teachers in any innovative setting to have their school heads on their side in order to promote a positive climate for change. Teachers' enthusiasm and willingness to use the methods advocated in schools largely depends on the school climate. It would be sad and disastrous to lose the teachers' commitment to change due to the head teachers' lack of information.

Another leverage point in implementing our reform efforts is based on the recognition that, without administrative leadership, opportunities for teachers to improve in their teaching and take leadership roles will be jeopardized. The head teacher's instructional leadership role has been well documented elsewhere (section 3.3.1.4). Knowledge of the curriculum, pupil learning progress, and instructional priorities are as critical for administrative attention as resource allocation and community relationships.

The findings also revealed that some teachers had no feedback either from their school heads or their Circuit Supervisors about what they do in their classrooms. This was evident at the school level as substantiated by the statements from Kapio, Adiga, and Tanko and Mr. Baani, the Circuit Supervisor. Adiga the head teacher believes that the system focuses too much on identifying bad practice and not enough on improving the practice of all teachers. As a result he feels that the supervisor gives unrealistic impressions about his school. Adiga's views were substantiated by Mr. Baani the Circuit Supervisor who conceded to the fact that some of his colleagues provide little, if any, methodological feedback and instruction for teachers to improve teaching and learning.

The reason for these expressed feelings appear to be largely due to the lack of communication between the super-ordinate and subordinate (i.e. Circuit Supervisors and teachers) in the reform programme as viewed by Alua and Adiga. This may be aggravated by the fact that the overall policy intentions behind the reform are not clearly developed or understood as intimated by Adiga.

iii) In-service training for teachers: as the findings of the questionnaire survey and teacher interviews indicates, primary teachers seem to believe in INSET as a means of promoting their understanding and effective implementation of the FCUBE reform. They see the provision of INSET as useful, but nevertheless, they require a different approach than currently exists. They appear to differentiate the INSET offered them into theoretical and practical and it is obvious that they demand a greater emphasis on practical training needs.

Literature supports the findings of this study since it highlights the need for continuing, practical staff development within any reform programme (Fullan, 1992b, Hargreaves & Fullan, 1992, Blenkin et al, 1992, Cox et al, 1988). Moreover, it suggests that an effective staff development system should facilitate continuing support for teachers and ongoing utilisation of the knowledge and skills required to implement and maintain educational reform programmes.

Teachers in this study are asking for detailed and practical seminars directly relevant to their teaching practices. They ask for practical guidelines on how to integrate the methods of teaching proposed to the different subject areas of the curriculum. Some of them seem to have come to the programme already familiar with some methods offered to them. Two typical cases in point are statements made by Adiga and Alua.

The research data also revealed that inadequate in-service provision has resulted in teacher ignorance of the content, skills and related pedagogy of the new strategies and interventions advocated by the MOE and donor sponsors. Alua, Adamu, and

Adiga capture these concerns in chapter six. It therefore appears from the results that teachers have more concerns on the need for in-service courses. The provision of in-service has been so *ad hoc* and patchy over the reform period. The new INSET initiatives represent a real attempt to retrain and re-skill teachers in curriculum areas that they might have never studied in depth during their initial teacher training days. Questions therefore naturally arise concerning what the impact of such courses might be on the teachers' grasp of subject methodologies and subsequent classroom practice.

In-service programmes cannot hope to improve the performance of veteran teachers through occasional workshops on generic techniques (Hargreaves, 1994c; Darling-Hammond, 1997; Fullan, 1998; Lieberman and Miller, 1999). Contemporary classrooms, populated as they are by increasingly diverse groups of pupils and coupled with rapidly changing social and economic conditions, require teachers who can analyse constantly pupils' changing needs and then to exercise the expertise to respond effectively. In short the particulars of personalities and contexts *matter* in teaching (Darling-Hammond, 1996; Hargreaves, 1994c; Darling-Hammond and Sykes, 1999; Lieberman and Miller, 1999).

Teacher training and in-service programmes continue to offer the same 'menu' to all without the slightest regard for varying demographic, cultural and physical settings in which teachers find themselves. Some of the teachers think that INSET offered is too general, not practical enough and not directly connected to teachers' needs and concerns (See Table 5.57). Statements from Kapio, Adiga and Tanko, further substantiate this. Not very many teachers had the opportunity to be invited or selected to attend in-service courses as illustrated in Table 5.57. Teachers indicated their need for further guidance, supervision and follow-up on programmes by organizers as stated in earlier sections of this chapter.

In this FCUBE reform era, old models of 'staff development', 'in-servicing' or 'teacher training' are well and truly understood as inadequate and wrongheaded.

Reformers generally deliver curriculum packages for teachers to implement, and designated assessment systems to measure pupil outcomes. Facilitators of such INSET programmes therefore seem to latch onto inappropriate approaches that are replays of past efforts to implementing changes in the education system. They seem not to come to grips with what it is that makes teachers' practices so robust and resistant to change.

Since the initiation of the FCUBE education reform, very little professional development or in-service provision has enabled teachers to exchange ideas or generally interact with colleagues in other schools except in the case of Abaa. This study shows that access to professional development has therefore disproportionately excluded many ordinary classroom teachers and has been disproportionately concentrated among those in management positions. It is therefore necessary to get teachers involved in the educational reform and to put their voices and their needs for professional learning at the heart of the change process.

Experienced teachers are more likely to grow and learn if involved in professional development contexts that build on their commitments to children, focus on the specific classroom dilemmas they face daily, and recognize teachers have learned from classroom experiences (Darling-Hammond and Sykes, 1999; Lieberman and Miller, 1999). More than instruction in generic teaching skills, experienced teachers such as Abaa and Adamu need opportunities to develop capacities for reflection, collaboration, research, critique, and assessment. Perhaps most important, public education might truly improve if teachers could develop and exercise their professional voices, make their knowledge and experience public, have that knowledge critiqued, refined and expanded, and exert constructive influence over the learning of children in classrooms beyond their own (Goodlad, 1984). With stronger professional voices and collegial relationships, teachers are likely to awaken to a sense of agency (Greene, 1988) as intimated by Adiga.

iv) Teacher collaboration and collegiality: as noted in chapter three (Section 3.3.1.3), teacher collaboration is now viewed as an essential ingredient in most professional development models. These models of professional development emphasize practices, such as coaching teachers (Showers, 1990), working in study groups (Joyce et al, 1989), conducting peer observations (Hopkins et al, 1994; Norrish, 1996), and developing a community of learners (Little, 1993; Loius et al, 1996). Teacher collaboration at the school site not only offers a mechanism for learning and planning but also a social support system that can build camaraderie and collegiality (Bol et al, 1998).

The researcher's field notes indicate that, the support category most frequently identified, as a positive aspect of the FCUBE implementation was internal collaboration. The one model that stood out with the highest percentage of responses in this category was the Whole School Development process (WSD). This finding is not surprising, given that the defining characteristic of this model is shared governance and decision-making in its cadres of teachers, administrators, and community members (See section 2.4.). For example, the head teacher of one project primary school where three different kinds of intervention programmes are pursued, commented that *'Teachers have bonded as a result of working together, planning together, and attending workshops'*. Abaa who fortunately teaches in one of the project schools said, *"I am trying to organise INSET in the school to help teachers in planning and collaborating more to provide powerful learning experiences for the children"*. Other representative comments include allowing *'teachers to meet together and share ideas through study group meetings'* and obtaining *'feedback in study groups'*

Although collaboration was noted as a positive aspect of WSD, a few teachers also found it to be a negative aspect of the design. Usually collaboration was considered negative because some teachers were uncooperative, there were scheduling difficulties or other demands precluding working with colleagues: *'Some team members are not very cooperative, and it brings about problems when*

planning'. Another commented. *'It's difficult to work with other teachers and with the same pupils because of different schedules'*.

As anticipated, teachers were mostly positive in their descriptions of teacher collaboration. In fact, teachers working together to plan instruction and activities were often mentioned as an indicator of successful design implementation. One teacher was quoted as saying, *'I think we no longer basically work in isolation ... We're more cohesive as a teaching unit'*.

Experience of collegiality proved to be the most important factor for successful involvement of the teacher in the FCUBE reform programme. This is confirmed by results in previous studies in which collegiality has been called *'the ingredient of successful change'* (Hargreaves, 1995).

It seems that in the specific case of the FCUBE, the success of the ongoing implementation of the programme could be largely improved upon if teachers collaborate with school heads and circuit supervisors as well as policy-makers. The collegiality that was found to exist among teachers in schools could, at best, be described as 'collegiality by default'. This collegiality was mainly as a result of the lack of official policy on the practical implementation of the programme and a desire of teachers to be more defensive of what they do in schools.

Nias et al (1992), argue that the *'culture of collaboration'* that may exist in the individual school arises from and embodies a set of what may broadly be described as moral beliefs about the value of the relationships between individuals and groups. This was no exception in the case of teachers in this study. Teachers tended to collaborate more in social activities where their collective interests are concerned.

In the present study, teachers themselves view collegiality to be very important for them. They seem to have found discussions among them, sharing their

experiences, ideas and problems to be extremely useful. Earlier statements made through the open-ended questions and teacher interviews are indicative of this feeling among teachers.

7.4: INVOLVING TEACHERS IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FCUBE REFORM

So far, I have reported on primary teachers' views of the conditions of teaching in poorly resourced and disadvantaged schools, their understanding of the FCUBE reform and how they view the support been given them in their work in the district. This section however deals with the fourth research question, 'How could primary teachers in Navrongo district be encouraged to become more involved in implementing the FCUBE reform'. To answer this question, there is a need to draw extensively from the findings of the first three research questions and to reflect on them. From the data in Sections 7.1-7.3, three broad sources of involvement seem to have emerged following the analysis of the teachers' perceptions of their experiences about the progress made towards implementing the FCUBE reform programme. The three broad issues of involvement deduced are: i) ownership; ii) relevance and appropriacy; and iii) organisational change structures

i) Ownership: the literature reviewed in this thesis implied that the early involvement of the teacher in decision-making procedures concerning an innovation might ensure successful practices (Craig et al,1998; Dalin et al, 1994; Herriot & Gross, 1979; Hoopers, 1998; Robertson et al, 1995; Verspoor, 2003). The present study shows that primary teachers often feel little of that ownership within the existing bureaucratic hierarchy of public schooling in Ghana, and as attested to by Pryor (1998) on primary school teachers and action research. This is evidenced by the fact that teachers in this study did not perceive themselves as influential in determining school policy or decision-making, (Table 528), neither did they see the management perceiving them as partners in these areas as expressed by Alua, Adiga, Abaa, and Adamu and corroborated by Mr. Baani. This

appears to contradict Bradley's (1991) emphasis on the teacher as a person who should be made to feel valued in his or her job and to feel willing and competent to contribute constructively to the development of the school.

Teachers are seen mainly as passive practitioners of the innovation who actually put into practice what is provided for them. Observations from my field notes revealed that there were no teachers in the committees responsible for curriculum development in general, and within the FCUBE reform in particular. However, a contradiction found here is that, although teachers seem passive recipients of change as far as the rationale and the policymaking in the reform is concerned, at the classroom level, where the actual and the real practice take place, the teachers are more free to implement the innovation as they like. The responses of Balua, Alua, Kapio, Adiga and Tanko appear to support the results of the questionnaire survey on the autonomy of the teacher in the classroom.

There is not an incidence of visible resistance against policies on the part of teachers in this study. Teachers try to follow the guidelines that are handed down to them by the authorities even if some of the measures did not seem to make sense to them. When asked why this is so, I found teachers frequently answering with a shrug, *'We teachers are used to obey'*. Other comments point in the same direction: *'We've always done what was demanded of us from above.'* Tanko for instance said he was afraid of attracting negative attention for fear of losing his job. The implication here is that the prevailing attitude among teachers, however, becomes compliance and subordination whether one tends to agree or disagree with the decisions made higher up.

The teacher interviews suggested that inadequate involvement of teachers in the curriculum development process appears to affect their effective implementation of the FCUBE reform. In theory, and reading from the FCUBE policy document, it appears teachers are been given participation in the curriculum development process, but in practice the bureaucrats from the MOE and the donor agencies,

who have no experience of teaching at primary school level in Ghana, overwhelmingly dominate the committees. What is often lacking in such efforts, as indicated by the results of the questionnaire survey and teachers' interviews in this study, are the critical features of reform that show how to 'get from here to there', such as clarity, relevance and practicality, and concrete modelling that ought to provide examples of the new practices being advocated.

Stringfield et al (1996:28) reported that, '*acquiring and productively using long-term, targeted technical assistance was often key to programme implementation.*' Lessons from Stringfield et al's findings seem not to apply in the case of the present educational reform in Navrongo district. Instead, all research indications in Ghana including this study are that not much has been changed in terms of the 'quality of teaching'. Teaching in the schools is still didactic and authoritarian with little or no recognition of the learners' potential to actively construct classroom knowledge (Pryor & Stuart, 1997).

ii) Relevance and Appropriacy: the lessons that emerge from the FCUBE reforms seem to confirm many of those that have been reported in the extensive literature on implementing change in schools (Wise, 1977; Sarason and Doris, 1997; Eisner, 1995; Fullan, 1993a). The reform periods prior to the FCUBE reform in 1996 demonstrated the dangers of imposing reforms on teachers that appear impractical, complex or radical, and that fail adequately to address teachers' capabilities in implementation issues or to recognize that change is a process. And as commented upon by Akyeampong (1997), there has been a failure to address what teachers and schools viewed as unresolved issues, especially the nature of teaching and learning, assessment procedures, the link to prior reform initiatives and uncertainty about the government's long-term commitment.

One factor crucial for teachers is to have a conception of curriculum planning and some knowledge of how to initiate the process in their own classroom. Applying this knowledge and reflecting on it by oneself and with peers allows teachers

opportunities to be actively involved in their own learning process, question why they do the things they do, and to experience and be responsible for struggling with some of the dilemmas and tensions they will inevitably meet.

The alternative to acknowledging and drawing upon the extensive accumulated knowledge and expertise of teachers is that outsiders presume to know 'what is wrong with schools', and proceed to devise inappropriate prescriptions for 'how to fix the situation'. The statement of Adiga whose view was supported by Mr. Baani captures this feeling. The teacher's work thus appears to be devalued, and they get locked into an unfortunate spiral of low morale, declining commitment, undervalued status, media hype about failing schools, and the whole process impacts upon itself. It also appears that reformers need to work, instead, at creating public space where there is some democratic process for sorting out whose views prevail and whose get excluded, as discussions about teaching widen to include the relationship between teachers and policy makers.

iii) Organisational change structures: this study has demonstrated that teachers want more support and the opportunity of participation in the functioning of their schools. However, if their involvement is to be significant and long term, it would appear that teachers must recognise the significance of the areas in which decisions are to be made, feel committed to make their participation work, and must feel that they do indeed have influence. Increased educational productivity and the professionalisation of teaching would appear to require new school structures that allowed more varied instructional arrangements, greater collegial interaction among teachers, and greater teacher involvement in decision making.

It appears that in the specific case of the FCUBE, the success of the ongoing implementation of the programme could be improved upon if teachers collaborate with school heads and circuit supervisors as well as policy-makers. The collegiality that was found to exist among teachers in schools could, at best, be described as 'collegiality by default'. This collegiality was mainly as a result of

the lack of official policy on the practical implementation of the programme and a desire of teachers to be more defensive of what they do in schools.

It is implicit in the questionnaire findings and the teacher interviews that the teachers in this study tend to anticipate that when given more open formal meetings with circuit supervisors or facilitators of workshops and opportunities to interact among their peers, they would be better prepared to work effectively to achieve the objectives of the reform. It is remarkable that although they are not satisfied with the implementation of the FCUBE reform, the teachers are satisfied with their co-operation with other teachers and facilitators and therefore, specifically demand more meetings among them as expressed in chapter six by Adamu, Balua and Abaa. This is supported by the available literature which holds the view that, *"Much depended on regular everyday conversations which enabled staff to establish and reaffirm shared meanings in relation to their personal and professional attitudes, values and beliefs"* (Nias et al, 1992:94).

What teachers in this study appear to be asking for are more meetings to happen, and more chances to discuss issues with their colleagues. Their request for more participation in seminars and INSET is evident of their willingness to exchange ideas and learn from others. This finding is also supported by the literature in the field (Hargreaves, 1992, Nias et al 1992, Fullan 1992a; 1992b), which argues that this form of collegiality (meetings) promotes a common vision of the innovation and shared motivation.

One could argue that in this example of the FCUBE reform, collegiality was profound; teachers seem to have a common view of their role in the reform, even if they sometimes misunderstand or do not know the way to implement it. The fact that they all see that it is essential for the reform to be integrated in the school and that they all support its rationale, promotes a common vision of the innovation in their minds. It is the case that teachers' experience in the reform setting ought to move away from the individual level to a more collaborative one. This could

mobilize the teachers further, with new common visions emerging and a greater chance to obtain common experience as a basis for further development.

Observation from my field notes and from documents reviewed on the performance of donors in the education system, reveal that there is less collegiality at the higher levels of the FCUBE administration. Different bodies and levels of the innovation appear to function independently from one another. The Curriculum Development Division prepares curriculum whilst the GES is responsible for its implementation. The Ghana Education Service also prepares INSET for teachers in collaboration with donor agencies. Personnel from the Supervisory division evaluate teachers using various Circuit Supervisors in respective districts. One would have thought that all these bodies would be seen to be co-operating closely. However, reviews by both Quansah (2000) and Mettle-Nunoo and Hilditch (2000) at the ministerial level point to the clear lack of co-operation between the various bodies concerned with the issues of teachers. This further causes real problems to teachers since there seem to be some kind of confusion with the mixed messages they receive.

In sum, the growing awareness of the benefits of collaboration in educational settings has contributed to the expansion of professional networks in some western developed countries that connect individuals and institutions. Such change requires educational leaders to design collaborative organizational structures (Dynak et al, 1997; Dalin et al, 1994; Craig et al, 1998, Lacey and Jacklin, 2001; Harley et al, 2000; Hoopers, 1998; Verspoor, 2003). Teacher networks have played a significant role in enhancing the continuous professional development of teachers. Lieberman and McLaughlin (1992) identify the features shared by successful teacher networks. Such networks tend to provide a clear focus combined with a common purpose and identity. They include activities that function as opportunities for self-direction, involve interdependent communities where teachers solve problems together, and create opportunities for leadership both within the network and through transference to other domains with focus on

schools. Involvement in teacher networks promotes learning for teachers and their students, higher levels of motivation, and expanded feelings of empowerment (Firestone and Pennell, 1997; Lieberman and McLaughlin, 1992). From the findings of this study, it would seem helpful if teachers are properly organised and encouraged to take the initiative of establishing in the district some professional networks that will help them work together as a team with a common purpose in mind (i.e. to improve upon teaching and learning of their pupils).

7.5: CONCLUSIONS: The findings of this study demonstrate that irrespective of teachers' age and gender differences, they all experience difficulties of varied degrees at their work places and in their quest to change their teaching practices in times of change. The gap that exists between teachers' experiences and newly introduced reforms such as the FCUBE, require different professional support structures to cater for the different needs of teachers so as to enable them to learn new ways of effecting change in their classroom practices. This appears to suggest that policy makers should not assume that by communicating policy change on its own teachers can develop professionally, but that the environmental, economic, socio-cultural and political conditions in which teachers find themselves are in themselves constraining influences on their willingness and ability to change. Drawing from some of the literature reviewed, it becomes obvious that the underlying assumptions of teachers in this study, the social and historical context in which they work, the degree to which constraining factors are congruent or not to their existing beliefs, commitments and practices, call for a critical review of the policy implementation strategies.

The study has also shown that the ultimate constraint on producing change in educational systems does not rest solely in the skills of the teachers, but rather in their ability to deploy those skills effectively. The barriers here are again largely external to the teachers – they are the resources available, the pre-existing culture in which an externally trained teacher returns to his or her school, and more broadly, perhaps, the expectations and value placed on education in the system at

large. Without change in these environmental factors, which prevent teachers activating their 'locked-up' knowledge, one might question the value of attempts to change the teachers, or at least to question the nature of in-service provision.

Developing ideas on educational change in Ghana clearly requires a firmer evidential base and more work needs to be done in that direction. The evidence provided by this study however, points to the following issues that need to be given attention in order to improve upon the situation of teachers in the study area: continued support for their professional development through in-service; providing resources to school environments; improving channels of communication; embarking upon holistic reform projects; improving upon school and district leadership; encouraging teacher collaboration and collegiality; involving them in decision-making; dealing with issues of relevance and appropriacy; and changing the organisational structures of the education system.

Specific implications for the success of the FCUBE reform as an example of an innovative practice and any similar one will be presented in chapter eight using the results of the case study of teachers in Navrongo district.

CHAPTER 8: MAIN FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

8.0: INTRODUCTION: In this concluding chapter, I aim to summarise the findings, and to use these to make some preliminary recommendations and to draw some conclusions about the study in the wider context of research carried out in Ghana in the field of education. In the study I aimed to explore the views of primary teachers from disadvantaged schools in one district in Ghana on their professional situation and in particular to find out their views of their work in the context of the FCUBE reforms.

The FCUBE reforms follow on almost 50 years of attempts to develop and reform the school system in Ghana, starting from its early emergence in colonial and missionary times, when a system of schooling was set up which built on values and practices developed in other countries from the so-called developed world, in particular the UK. Despite many years and much investment in school reform in Ghana, it appears that the school system continues to be 'in crisis'. In the thesis I make an assumption that the FCUBE reform has much in common with earlier reform programmes, and in fact draws substantially on them. Further, I suggest that, like them, the FCUBE reform has ignored the perspectives of teachers, and the policy-makers have not taken teachers 'with them' in their implementation of the reform.

There has been very little research carried out in Ghana on the school system, and even less research which has considered the perspectives of teachers. In my research I aimed to do both.

8.1: SUMMARY OF MAIN FINDINGS: Although my research constituted a small scale and exploratory study, it did permit me to draw certain, albeit tentative, conclusions in relation to the characteristics and views of the sample of primary teachers in Navrongo district. The data from the questionnaires and

interviews enabled me to show the range of backgrounds and experiences of the teachers in this district, and also that their views differed to an extent according to their age (and therefore route of teacher training) and gender. Overall, this study provides an opportunity to understand more about the working lives of a sample of primary teachers working in disadvantaged schools in Navrongo district at a time of major school reform (FCUBE) and therefore changes in professional demands and practices.

My research took a multi-method approach and used evidence from three sources: the questionnaire study which yielded 64 responses; an in-depth interview study of 7 teachers followed by a second interview study of these seven teachers plus a circuit supervisor; collection and analysis of documents relevant to the FCUBE reforms. The study was situated in one largely rural district of Ghana, Navrongo district, and focused on primary teachers from disadvantaged schools, who one might argue are more vulnerable in terms of their knowledge and understanding of reform processes. In this environment teachers work in particularly poorly resourced school environments and their relatively low salary leaves them demoralised at the same time as they appear to be shown less and less respect by the public. Under conditions of poverty, including large discrepancies in living conditions across people in the district, there can be little doubt that the mobilisation of a large number of incentive packages and the sustainability of continued professional support is absolutely central to attracting teachers to work in disadvantaged schools.

Using the questionnaire data, I divided the sample into three groups according to age and gender; an older group (over the age of 30 years) divided into male and female and a younger group (below 30 years) who turned out to be almost exclusively male. Even though the different groups experience similar problems such as poor conditions of service, their views differed on their professional situation and work, with the older teachers more enthusiastic about teaching and

therefore more likely to stay longer in the profession than the younger teachers who expressed less enthusiasm and the desire to leave the profession for good.

It was also possible to conclude that the early departure of some teachers from the profession (more especially the younger teachers) may lead to the creation of a void in schools more especially with the loss of their acquired experiences. This is considered to be worrying and therefore has implications for future educational planning in terms improving upon the conditions of service for teachers and the drive to recruit and retain people into the teaching profession.

The interview study allowed me to see how a small sample of very different teachers react to and indeed cope with the reform programme, and here I developed some stereotypes which could caricature the different reactions and responses. These different teachers with their different reactions have very different needs; for the effective implementation of the FCUBE reform there is the need for adopting different support structures that can enable them to achieve this goal.

The study shows that information about the FCUBE reforms has not been consistently and clearly communicated to teachers. This is a major problem in the implementation of reform, in this case the FCUBE. This is particularly the case for disadvantaged and predominantly rural districts such as Navrongo where the weak infrastructure leaves teachers isolated, and, one might argue, in particular need of additional support. The study highlights the need for support in terms of INSET and professional development activities and teachers' views on their needs. An interesting aspect of the findings was the strong sense of collegiality found among most teachers which suggest that they are receptive to collaboration and working together; this could be important for communication and support strategies.

One aspect of what I wish to call the "communication problem" and also the "support problem" is the role of the headteacher and the circuit supervisor. From

this small study it appeared that headteachers were often ill-informed and therefore unable to support their teachers, and that circuit supervisors concentrated on supervisory issues rather than pedagogical issues and did not therefore provide the needed support. This study has enabled a unique glimpse into the lives of primary teachers in Navrongo district and has contributed to an understanding of some of the pressures which make implementation of a reform such as FCUBE very difficult.

8.2: REFLECTION ON THE LITERATURE AND RELEVANCE OF FINDINGS TO GHANA: Having reached this stage, I can relate my findings to the literature discussed in chapter three. Data from this study support in many ways Fullan's and others' views of change as an evolutionary process that comes about through interaction at the school level rather than through technical planning or political rhetoric at the system level. The data in chapters 5 and 6 reveal substantial variations in the teachers' understanding and awareness of the reform and show that in practice, little attempt was made to help the teachers gain a clear understanding of what is expected of them.

This research has shown that the experience of Ghana with respect to educational reforms is similar in many ways to that of other developing countries. The various problems encountered by other developing countries in their implementation efforts (section 3.4) have been identified in Ghana as well. The data have also shown that success has been minimal in Ghana, as well as in those other developing countries.

Earlier evaluations of some of the donor education projects in the country (e.g. Akumfi-Ameyaw, 2000; Mettle-Nunno & Hilditch, 2000; Quansah, 2000) suggest that these projects continue to offer glimpses of activities, curricula and processes that might be observed in a school modeling what is known about teaching and learning from their (i.e. donor) perspectives, regardless of local contextual issues; this view is supported by the findings of this study.

In general, this research has been different to other studies in that it has attempted in one 'case' study to investigate teachers' views about their situation and to relate them to the actual implementation of an educational reform in disadvantaged schools. In the light of this, the research has indicated that it takes much more than government rhetoric or a series of unrelated and unsustainable interventions to achieve reform policy objectives. Information is needed on the conditions available on the ground, which have been found to explain the teachers' professional situation in terms of their inability and reluctance to get involved in the reform process. As a result, my empirical work suggests that in an effort to make sense of a particular educational reform, different sets of data on the professional situation of teachers and the context in which they work have to be collected. This finding is consistent with Fullan's assertion that single-factor theories are not successful since effective implementation depends on a combination of factors that reinforce or undercut each other as an interrelated system. Therefore, locating and explaining how different factors function, in the case of teachers and their professional situation in this study, is important.

Elmore's (1995) view that organisational change strategies need first to understand what makes people or organisations change their values, attitudes and beliefs, and then should work backwards to find appropriate strategies and, only then, the enabling supportive structures and systems, sits well with the professional situation of teachers in this study.

8.3: RECOMMENDATIONS: In this section I use evidence from my research to consider how national educational policies and research as a whole could be used to support teachers in their professional situation in different contexts and for the effective implementation of the FCUBE reform agenda.

Although Ghana is unique in some of its aspects, many of the problems reported in this thesis, relating to how teachers view their professional situation and the

implementation of the FCUBE reform, are similar to those emerging from literature describing international attempts for application of educational reform.

The recommendations drawn from this research focus on nine interrelated key areas: (i) Teachers as individuals; (ii) Communication; (iii) Leadership; (iv) INSET; (v) Initial Teacher Education; (vi) Collaboration; (viii) External support; (viii) Research; and (ix) Policy issues.

(i) Teachers as individuals: even though the idea of recognising differences in teachers' skills and knowledge (as illustrated by the findings of this study), has not received much attention in Ghana, the present challenge is to develop systems that recognise the complexities of the teachers' work situation in schools that are acceptable to them as teachers. The importance for individualising instruction for students has long been recognised in the classroom. But, individualising professional development programmes for teachers has not received much emphasis, although it has commensurate importance. Usually all teachers, irrespective of age, gender or experience, in a building are expected to attend the same course or programme. When supervisors recognise the developmental stages of teachers, as well as their unique strengths, styles, and interests, as demonstrated by this study, then the planning of individual programmes for professional growth can and must be fostered by providing choice and differential learning opportunities to teachers since they are at different developmental stages in their career. The teachers therefore need the stimulation of professional meetings, classroom visits, professional journals, teacher centres, and exposure to new procedures of teaching and learning. This could be achieved through developing methods to include the use of demonstrations, supervised practice and feedback as a part of their training.

Second, the practical application of the reform should be highlighted. As I have repeatedly mentioned throughout this thesis, the challenge is in making sure that

teachers are positive about the practical aspects of introducing the reform as well as being positive about it in theory.

(ii) Communication: the teachers in the study sample had received information about the FCUBE reform from different sources, and about one-third had not even heard of the reforms. The interview study showed that teachers showed a variety of practices, reflecting diverse ideas about how they understand the reform agenda. Although the evidence in chapter 6 also suggests that teachers have a positive opinion about the reform, policymakers have not been able to build on this positive acceptance by the teachers to encourage them towards their change effort. There appears to be a lack of clarity about the overall educational aims of the reform. So, clear policy statements for the reform and its agenda for improving teaching and learning in schools should be embarked upon by the MOE whilst being realistic about the availability of resources and the level of staff expertise needed.

The fact that the existence of multiple interventions or strategies of the FCUBE reform appear to be creating confusion in the minds of teachers at the district level, suggests that there is the need to make use of national meetings to focus on strategies for action to move the FCUBE reform agenda along and resolve problems with its implementation. This can be done through accessing the experience and learning of teachers through workshop-type sessions in which problems are shared and solutions suggested.

Communication needs to be broad-based and bottom-up as well as top-down, so that the leadership group understands teachers' views and the progress they are making in their local sites. This can be done through laying emphasis on networking and learning from the experiences of others in schools and from workshop facilitators of INSET programmes. Institutions in the same district should not be encouraged to operate in isolation, but to facilitate regular and recognised channels of communication between them. Such contacts can be

assured, for instance, by cross-representation on committees and by regular staff liaison.

(iii) Leadership: if Circuit Supervisors and head teachers want to support and participate in change, they should support their staff by listening to their voices where appropriate, enhance the quality of their work by providing learning environments that would provide opportunities for reflection upon and confrontation of past and current experience in work in which self and peer appraisal will be central. By giving the teachers the opportunity to discuss their experiences and problems, and trying to help them as much as they can, the Circuit Supervisors and head teachers could be change promoters. Inferring from the findings, the major issue would indeed be to get both Circuit Supervisors and head teachers in the district to change in the desired direction by moving from their hierarchical form of management to a more participative democracy. It appears important that they accept experimentation and allow time for debate with their teachers about change whilst promoting school-based in-service within schools giving as much flexibility as possible both to the curriculum and the teachers.

(iv) INSET: teachers in the district have for long suffered from inadequate opportunities to improve their knowledge and professional skills. Findings from the study suggest the need for a consideration by the MOE/GES and the donor agencies, to reflect over their funding arrangements for INSET and for a set of criteria for effective INSET to be presented. Consideration should be given to recognition of the training needs of teachers in relation to the objectives of education in the district through needs assessment procedures. This would entail a precise targeting of the provision of appropriate in-service programmes to suit the various groups of teachers (i.e. younger, older male or female teachers) with a need for practical focus and the appropriate use of experiences of the teachers on the part of workshop facilitators and personnel from the higher education institutions and donor agencies offering INSET. There is a need to plan a coherent

in-service education policy at the district level that will be based on the choice of appropriate length of courses and the modes of attendance by participants backed by appropriate follow-up works in schools with teachers and their heads by workshop facilitators and circuit supervisors.

Every school in the district should regard the continued training of its teachers as an essential part of its tasks, for which all members of staff share responsibility. Heads of schools and other senior teachers should be especially concerned to assess the needs both of their schools and teachers and to encourage teachers to take the opportunities offered outside the school for in-service education and training, whether these involve attendance at full-time courses or participation in vacation weekends or evening activities.

For effective co-ordination, the pattern of in-service provision must be seen mainly to respond to teachers' expressed needs where these coincide with the short-term availability of resources. The role of the teachers' centre as a training resource must be taken into consideration in the planning of resources and provision in the district, and teachers' centre managers and committees need to be linked into the district consultation process. Every school should have on its staff a 'professional tutor' to co-ordinate work affecting the school and to be the link between the school and other agencies engaged in that work.

(v) *Initial Teacher Education*: although the study did not focus on teacher education, it is possible to infer appropriate recommendations. I recommend a stronger knowledge-base for teacher education through relevant research and an evaluation of the current existing programmes (as currently spear-headed by the University of Sussex in collaboration with University of Cape Coast) so as to make the education of teachers intellectually more solid. This could be enhanced by more exposure to the practical realities of classrooms as is the present 'In-In-Out' teacher trainee programme (which seeks to redesign teacher preparation programmes so that the theories learnt by trainees in the teacher training

institutions can be effectively linked and applied to their field of practice by providing training relevant to teacher educators so as to improve and strengthen their existing capacities).

In addition the organization of termly durbars with teachers to discuss their problems and educational policy issues relating to their work, and the timely supply and distribution of teaching and learning materials (such as syllabuses, textbooks, etc) any time the need arises, and on-going building of schools and teachers' quarters in disadvantaged communities would help to sustain the teaching force. There is also the need to sustain the present scheme of rewarding excellence, professionalism and dedication of teachers through the annual best teacher awards scheme to the teaching profession at the basic education level.

Teachers who would like to do further studies through distance education could be encouraged by paying part of their fees. This is more likely to help them to be more reflective in their teaching practices as they try to apply their academic knowledge in a more practical sense and to the context in which they work.

(vi) Collaboration: as may be seen from the research, teachers value a collaborative culture. To encourage and sustain reform practices, the management infrastructure needs to build on this and to encourage a culture in which it is possible for teachers to experiment and be engaged in their own process of reflection. This could be done through the promotion of action research in Ghanaian classrooms. Individual teachers who have been involved in the reform through workshops should be supported through regular feedback visits and rewarded for their efforts in the change process. This could help teachers feel 'owners' of the reform.

Ideally, we must encourage collaborative learning as an approach to teaching and learning in which teachers are required to work together and with teacher educators for that matter, in the learning process, and to reach a consensus through

negotiation to accomplish good work practices. Professional learning communities seem critical because they can create opportunities for teachers to collaborate and help one another achieve their purpose. Mentoring should therefore be institutionalised in schools to facilitate the sharing of experiences and evidence of good practice among staff members.

(vii) External support: the evidence from this research points to the fragmentation and duplication of some donor projects in the district that have caused confusion in the minds of some of the teachers interviewed. Even though donor agencies have obligations to their own governments and are justifiably restricted by their own interests and regulations in what kinds of assistance they can offer and under what terms, there is the need for the MOE to be able to effectively coordinate their activities. With their wealth of knowledge and experience in policy formation and programme implementation, the donor agencies can make useful contributions, provided that their experience is shared in a spirit of partnership and collegiality. An effective coordination of external assistance is more likely to lead to a reduction of low priority programmes, better planning of aid missions and less duplication of effort, with common reporting procedures between government and donor agencies. Creating institutional channels to facilitate funding agency participation is more likely to help build a bridge across the gap that exists between donor partners and all other stakeholders.

(viii) Research: the Curriculum Research and Development Division (CRDD), in conjunction with the Ghana National Association of Teachers (GNAT) and the Teacher Education Division of the MOE, operating jointly with the Universities of Cape Coast and Winneba, could become a major centre of research for teacher professional development, planning to document, monitor, and evaluate developments in teacher education inside and outside of the MOE and Donor Partners' works. This would enable a coordinated approach. The work could be conducted by teams of researchers at the local level through a 'temporary system' of school and university participants who tender and bid to carry out different

tasks in fostering teacher education. This might help the MOE to address the gaps identified in the present study and to be well positioned to act more systematically on improving teaching and learning in basic schools as envisaged in the FCUBE document.

(ix) Policy Issues: there is the need to accept the right of teachers to have several periods of in-service training during their career and to make provisions such as attractive incentive packages (for purposes of their promotion and career development) that would stimulate them to use this right. It should be accepted that all teachers must have a residential period of in-service training of say, approximately 5-6 weeks every five or six years, in addition to shorter courses (3-15 days), with some essential seminars and conferences in between as and when the need arises.

8.4: CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE THESIS

It is important to acknowledge both the contribution and the limitations taking into consideration the contextual background of this thesis, the methodology used, the discussions of the findings and the emergent implications and recommendations made.

Navrongo district clearly has many unique features as an example of a disadvantaged district in Ghana. A major strength of the study is that it is a local in-depth study that focuses on the perspectives of primary teachers from disadvantaged schools situated in one largely rural district of Ghana in an attempt to understand their professional situation and to learn from them. The results from the questionnaire study and the two interview studies provide a unique insight into the professional lives of this particular group of teachers. The interviews allowed me to explore in depth teachers' views of their working lives thus giving a rich insight into the teaching profession in this particular area in Ghana.

A further contribution from this study is a greater understanding of the professional development needs of primary teachers working in schools in a country undergoing radical school reform. Such research has not been carried out previously in Ghana, and certainly not in a disadvantaged school district such as Navrongo. The period covered by the research enabled me to develop a unique insight into the difficulties faced by teachers at a time of major educational reform.

My research enabled me to develop insights into the professional lives and views of teachers working in disadvantaged schools at a time of major school reforms through the FCUBE initiative. The study, therefore, portrays 'what it is like' to be a teacher working in a disadvantaged district like Navrongo, explaining the reality on the ground and providing thick descriptions of teachers' lived experiences of, thoughts about and feeling for, their work situation at this time of policy change. A surprising finding from the research was the serious lack of communication between policy-makers and teachers on the ground resulting in a situation where about a third of the sample of teachers had not even heard of the reforms. This is despite major expenditure on the reform. Less surprising was the finding that teachers in this area continue to work in seriously impoverished conditions.

The exploratory case study has helped to develop an in-depth situated knowledge that is both unique to the particular context (i.e. primary teachers in a disadvantaged district in Ghana) but nevertheless enables some lessons to be learned which may be applied across the district as a whole and indeed the wider education system both within Ghana and in other countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. Although contextual differences between disadvantaged areas will have an impact on research findings, my professional experience in other areas of the country suggests that many of the findings are relevant to other disadvantaged school environments nation-wide. The findings therefore serve an important purpose as a pilot for an extended future study or for purposes of setting future research questions.

The generalization of the research is, however, limited by the fact that it involved a small number of teachers who took part in the questionnaire study and the in-depth interviews. This reflects some of the difficulties for researchers in developing countries where there is a poorly developed infrastructure (Crossley & Watson, 2003). Ideally, the questionnaire study would have included a much larger sample of primary teachers. This makes the generalization of the results limited. However, my aim was not to generalise, but rather to study in depth a sample of teachers from a single district and to understand their professional situation and learn from this understanding, and then use lessons learned to begin to make policy recommendations and pose further research questions.

In an effort to make the framing of the research questions as specific as possible, the review of the literature was limited to certain references among a lot of others on educational reforms and change. In choosing to use questionnaires and interviews as my research methods I was aware of the issues of validity and 'objectivity' and the possibility of bias. I devised the instruments myself i.e. the questionnaires and the interview schedules and they reflect both my reading and my own experience. Although I administered the questionnaires in person, I did not have any interaction with the teachers beyond explaining and clarifying the focus of the research. In the interviews I was clear about my position as researcher and did everything that I could to avoid the possibility of bias (i.e. avoiding leading questions, avoiding any reaction to their responses and so on). Nevertheless, this situation is complex in view of the subject matter and my position in the education service. Although efforts were made to ensure that teachers involved in this research freely discussed their feelings whilst at the same time ensuring their anonymity, my presence might have caused some form of bias or even negative feelings among some teachers since I could be viewed as one of those in higher education nosing around to brew trouble.

If I had had more time, I might have used additional methods, such as biographical methods and diary accounts in order to gain an even deeper understanding of how

life experiences can be understood within contemporary cultural and structural settings. This might have had the important merit of aiding the task of understanding major social shifts, by including how new experiences are interpreted by individuals within institutions (Roberts, 2002).

Navrongo district clearly has many unique features as an example of a disadvantaged district that is implementing an educational reform of this kind; it is one of the poorest districts in Ghana and it is geographically very far from the centre. Nevertheless, it parallels other districts in the country in similar circumstances. It is relatively disadvantaged with multiple problems in its setting which has an impact on education as evidenced by this study. In particular, I have attempted in this exploratory case study to develop in-depth situated knowledge which is both unique to the particular context (primary teachers in a disadvantaged district in Ghana) and also enables lessons to be learned which may be applied across the country as a whole and indeed in the wider education system.

8.5: IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH: this study attempted to answer quite complicated research questions using original data from participants and concluding with recommendations for a way forward. In my opinion, teachers' needs and the needs of all those interested in educational issues should be regularly examined and particularly at a time of major educational reforms, in order to ensure that all voices are heard in an effort to enable and facilitate the successful implementation of changes in the education system. The findings of this study therefore raise a number of key questions for future research. Prominent among these are:

1. How far are these views representative of the wider teacher community of teachers and what lies behind these views? In particular how far are the views of the sample of teachers in Navrongo district replicated in teachers in well-endowed urban school environments?

2. How far are teachers' views and morale related to pupil learning and pupil outcomes and achievement? It is a well-known fact (and see pages 17 and 18) that attainments in schools in Ghana are relatively low, and this fact is likely to affect teachers' morale.

3. Given the relatively low performance of pupils in many schools in Ghana, there is an urgent need to identify possible examples of good teaching practice, or at least to investigate features of good teaching practice considered relevant by teachers in Ghana.

4. A further question concerns the teachers themselves. How is the professional self of the teacher affected by personal history, and how can teacher educators and facilitators of in-service programmes help primary teachers to become reflective individuals capable of learning and constructing examples of good teaching practice?

In a general sense my research raises major questions for both initial teacher training and the continuous professional development of teachers in the educational system. It will therefore be of priority, both in rural and remote teaching positions, and in urban schools, to explore how the nature and level of professional development and support to be given to teachers after their initial teacher training can be evolved.

To address the first research question it would be of interest to carry out a comparative study with a wider sample of teachers both from urban and rural schools. This might be a wider questionnaire study or a more extensive interview study. In addition, it would be useful to carry out observations in schools and to ask teachers to complete professional diaries in order to gain more 'objective' understanding of their professional lives. A further approach might be to use extracts from the vignettes produced by this research and to present them to a

sample of teachers to check their perceptions and understanding of what has been presented.

To address the second question I would be interested to carry out further interviews which focus on this area, to find out more about teachers' views of their teaching and the pupils' learning process and their views about and expectations of pupils' attainment.

In seeking answers to the third question, it might be appropriate to organise group discussions in a workshop session where teachers would be given the opportunity to discuss and present their views on what they consider as good teaching practices based on their wider different backgrounds and experiences. Another important source would be to identify teachers, who in the past received annual awards as exemplary teachers in the educational system, and to interview and observe their teaching practices over a reasonable period of time.

The use of teachers' personal histories, either through the use of teacher case stories or narrative inquiries, would be used to address the fourth question. These case stories or narrative inquiries, which would be both oral and written descriptions of teachers' lived experiences, could offer them the opportunity to reflect and to articulate on their personal and professional sense of themselves. This could take place in workshop sessions so that teachers both learn from each other and develop a more reflective approach.

Currently, initial teacher preparation is organised such that teacher trainees spend two years in college learning theory and a third year in schools (i.e. In-In-Out system) for their practical training. It thus seems from the findings of this study that these teacher trainees would be supervised by teachers in the field who are already demoralised and ill-prepared and who are themselves unable to develop their own standards of good teaching practices working in poorly resourced environments. To prevent a further situation of seemingly perpetuating a vicious

cycle of poor teaching practices among the new crop of teachers, I would suggest the need for a shift from the present system of 'In-In-Out' to 'In-Out-In' where trainees would be asked to keep dairies over the 'Out' year period and to be offered the opportunity to report their experiences when they return for the last 'In' session in shared discussion groups and suggestions made for good teaching practices. There is therefore the need to investigate how the present system of teacher preparation works possibly through a wider questionnaire study or a more extensive interview study of both teacher trainers and teacher trainees. In addition, it would be useful to carry out observations in schools and to ask both serving and trainee teachers to complete professional diaries in order to gain more 'objective' understanding of their professional interaction during the mentoring year and to suggest modifications thereof.

8.6: CONCLUSION: the present study has provided insight into primary teachers' views on their professional situation to better understand their feelings and views about the FCUBE reforms. Even though the call for the reform has been eight years since its introduction, there is evidence from this study that there is still much room for improvement. Teachers' views need to be known so as to enable policymakers to anticipate the barriers exposed through this study and to avoid mistakes in order to facilitate and promote their successful involvement in reforms in times of change. There is also the problem of 'policy borrowing'; in this case the data suggest that there is a clear need both for policy to be adopted to the local situation and for local stakeholders (e.g. teachers) to be involved in the development and implementation of that policy.

Data from the thesis suggest that there is a clear need for improved communication and involvement of teachers in a reform such as FCUBE. It is not enough for donors to donate larger sums of money and to develop intervention strategies based on conclusions and recommendations of conferences, seminars and workshops, organised jointly with the MOE (but which are donor-funded), without considering and adopting the views of other stakeholders such as teachers.

Though these ad hoc procedures by donors appear to have good intentions towards contributing significantly to the improvement of basic education in the country, what is needed are programmes based on local evidence and local need.

This thesis suggests the need for policymakers to develop a strategy of reform implementation that focuses on schools' and teachers' specific concerns rather than imposing superior knowledge and assumptions across the different contexts in which teachers work. There is the need for a shift towards the continuous professional support for teachers, to facilitate empowering them as key agents of change who should be able to make their own informed decisions in a mature and responsible way, by making policy clearer through meaningful conversations and practical support for decentralization of the education system. Thus, conditions that could favour, facilitate or stimulate change should be addressed.

In conclusion, how teachers in poorly resourced and disadvantaged schools view their professional situation and the implementation of the FCUBE reform appears to be less encouraging and less likely to yield the desired results. This study suggests that teachers are not adequately prepared or supported for the change envisaged and for taking the critical judgments and action steps needed to make the change work. Much as teachers in this study accept and need innovations, they also need a greater capacity to deal with them. There is no pathway to this goal other than those that involve the simultaneous renewal of teacher education and schools through a continuous and sustained professional development of teachers and the resourcing of schools and classrooms. To develop schools we must be prepared to develop teachers; and we must know what this involves. It is one thing to analyse needs and create policies, it is another to develop strategies for improvement.

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APPENDIX 1 TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE

1.0 GENERAL INFORMATION

- 1.1 What is the approximate number of pupils in your school?
- 1.2 Which of the following describes the area in which your school is situated? e.g. rural area, town, village
.....
- 1.3 What is the number of pupils in your class? Boys Girls Total
- 1.4 Which year group are you responsible for? Year 4 ☐ Year 5 ☐ Year 6 ☐
- 1.5 What is your position in the school? Head teacher ☐ Assistant Head ☐
Classroom teacher only ☐ Other (please specify)

2.0 PRACTICES, CONCEPTION, POINTS OF VIEW

- 2.1 Do you organize or coordinate any extra-curricular activities? e.g. school clubs, games, choir, school trips, etc Yes ☐ No ☐

2.1.1 If Yes, please specify:

.....
.....
.....

- 2.2 In the past year, how frequently have you had personal contact with each of the following in the course of your work as a teacher?

Contact	1-3 times a month	Once or twice a term	Once or twice a year	Never
District Director	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Circuit Supervisor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Regional Director	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Subject organizer (specify subject):

.....

- 2.3 How often do you work in close collaboration with colleagues when teaching your class? (Please, tick the appropriate response)

- Never ☐
- Less than once a week ☐
- Once a week ☐
- More than once a week ☐
- Daily ☐

2.4 What form does this collaboration take?

.....

.....

.....

.....

2.5 In the course of your professional work, what type of contact do you have with the parents of your pupils and how frequently?

Contact	Never	Occasionally	Once a week	Monthly
Help with class activities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Meeting to discuss	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
a child's progress	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Open day activities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
At PTA meetings	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
By individual letter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
When meeting by chance	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (specify):				

.....

2.6.1 In your work as a teacher, how far do you feel that your teaching practice is influenced by the following factors?

I am influenced by	V. Strongly	Strongly	Only little	Not at all
family	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
initial training	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
personal teaching experience	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
own reading/independent study	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
colleagues at work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
head teacher	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
circuit supervisor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
pupils	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
parents of pupils	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
membership of	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
a professional association	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
participation in in-service training	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
participation in extra-curricular	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
activities with children	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Other (please specify):

.....

2.7 Which of these influences is the most important for you and why?

.....

2.8 Which is the least important and why?

.....

2.9 What does 'professional responsibility' mean for you as a teacher?

.....

2.10 In general, how much freedom do you have to choose the content of your teaching?

Complete freedom ☐

Considerable freedom ☐

Little freedom ☐

No freedom ☐

2.10.1 State an aspect of the curriculum you feel gives you the greatest freedom of choice?

.....

2.10.2 State an aspect of the curriculum you feel gives you the least freedom of choice?

.....

.....

2.10.3 What are the major influences that determine for you the content of your teaching?

.....

.....

.....

2.10.4 In general, how much freedom do you have over the choice of teaching methods?

Complete freedom ☐

Considerable freedom ☐

Little freedom ☐

No freedom ☐

2.10.5 In what aspects of your teaching methods do you have the greatest freedom?

.....

.....

.....

2.10.6 In what aspects of your teaching methods do you have the least freedom?

.....

.....

2.10.7 What are the main influences that determine for you, your teaching methods?

.....
.....
.....

3.0 REFORMS

3.1 How did you come to know of the 1987 FCUBE reform programme?

.....
.....
.....

3.2 Who in your opinion is responsible for initiating and planning the FCUBE programme?

.....
.....
.....

3.3 In the FCUBE programme, how is quality of learning explained by the GES /Ministry of Education?

.....
.....
.....

3.4 List any interventions you know about that have been designed to promote quality in teaching and learning for teachers? Explain your response.

.....
.....
.....
.....

3.5 How are you as a classroom teacher affected by the FCUBE programme?

.....
.....
.....

3.6 How do you keep abreast with information on activities and developments within the educational system? Please tick your sources from the following lists:

- | | |
|--------------------|--------------------------|
| Official documents | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Workshops | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Seminars | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Publications | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Newspapers ☐

GNAT news/meetings ☐

Electronic programmes ☐

Others (specify):

.....

- 3.7 How many professional journals have you read since completing college whilst on your job? Please specify the type of journal:

.....
.....
.....

4.0 IN-SERVICE TRAINING AND PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF TEACHERS

- 4.1 Should In-service training be a right or a choice? Right ☐ Choice ☐

- 4.2 Where should it be organized and during which times?

.....
.....
.....

- 4.3 Who should define the programme and why?

.....
.....
.....

- 4.4 Is there any tutorial support system in operation in your school? Yes ☐ No ☐

- 4.4.1 If Yes, what form does this take?

.....
.....
.....

- 4.5 Is there any supervisory system in operation in your school? Yes ☐ No ☐

- 4.5.1 If Yes, what form does this take?

.....
.....

- 4.5.2 If No, why not?

.....
.....

4.6 State any areas in which you need assistance as a classroom teacher

.....
.....
.....
.....

4.7 What is your greatest concern as a teacher at this time?

.....
.....
.....
.....

4.8 What could you do as a teacher to improve your teaching at this time?

.....
.....
.....
.....

In your experience:

4.9.1 How far do you think of professional development as comprising 'up-grading' or 'refresher' courses?

.....
.....
.....

4.10 Do you think policy-makers see professional development in the same way as you do? Explain your response:

.....
.....
.....

4.11 Do you have In-service training in your school? If yes, who organizes it?

.....
.....
.....

4.11.1 If no, why not?

.....
.....
.....

In your experience

4.12 What kind of professional relationship does your own school have with the District Education Office?

.....
.....
.....

4.13 In what way has this relationship changed in recent years?

.....
.....
.....

4.14 Has your job become easier or more difficult in consequence of the FCUBE programme? Explain your response

.....
.....
.....

4.15 What kind of relationship does your own school have with St. John Bosco's College?.....

.....
.....

4.16 In what way has this relationship changed in recent years?

.....
.....
.....

4.17 Has your job become easier or more difficult in consequence of your relationship with St John Bosco's college? Explain your response

.....
.....

In your experience

- 4.18 Try to identify a stage in your own career when the availability of a mentor (i.e. an adviser, guide or tutor) might have been of help?

.....
.....
.....
.....

- 4.19 How would you have wanted to use such a person?

.....
.....
.....

- 4.20.1 What potential problems might there be with this role?

.....
.....

Any other source of help which might have been useful?

.....

- 4.21 Consider the way in which decisions are made concerning the involvement of teachers in various in-service activities within the Ghana Education Service (GES). What criteria are used in the process?

.....
.....
.....

- 4.22 Do you as a classroom teacher see the process as efficient?

Yes ☐

No

☐

- 4.22.1 Explain your response?

.....
.....

- 4.23 Could you bring me up to date on significant education research in Ghana that you know of – e.g. either at the school, district, or national level etc?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

5.0 PERSONAL DETAILS

5.1 In which age group are you?

30 or under ☐ 31-45 ☐ over 45 ☐

5.2 How many years have you been as a teacher?

Under 5 years ☐ 5-10 ☐ 11-20 years ☐ over 20 years ☐

5.3 Please state your sex.

Male ☐ Female ☐

5.4 How long have you worked in your present school? Specify in years:

.....

5.5 Which of the following qualifications do you hold? Please tick all that apply:

First degree ☐

Diploma ☐

Specialist certificate ☐

Post Secondary 'Cert.A' ☐

Cert' 'A' 4 year ☐

'A' level ☐

'O' level ☐

Others:

.....
.....

5.6 You have just answered a questionnaire in which many of the questions have dealt with your professional responsibility. I am most grateful. Is there an important question that you have not been asked? If yes, what is it?

.....
.....
.....

5.6.1 How would you reply to it?

.....
.....

5.7 Have you thought about leaving teaching? Yes ☐ No ☐

5.7.1: If yes, how often have you thought about it?

Frequently ☐ Occasionally ☐ Seldom ☐

5.7.2 If yes, was it in response to a:

Feeling of general dissatisfaction Yes ☐ No ☐

Specific incident Yes ☐ No ☐

Specific initiative or proposed change Yes ☐ No ☐

Positive alternative job opportunity Yes ☐ No ☐

Other:

5.8 How many applications for promotion have you made? If you have applied for promotion:

.....
.....

5.9 How many times have you been interviewed for a promotion post?

.....
.....

5.10 How many times have you been promoted?

.....
.....

5.11 How satisfied were you with the selection processes for promotion? Please tick appropriate response:

Very satisfied ☐ Satisfied ☐ Dissatisfied ☐ Very dissatisfied ☐

5.12 How satisfied are you with the following aspects of teaching at present? Please tick the appropriate box:

Aspect	V Satisfied	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	V Dissatisfied
Salary	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Prospects for career advancement	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recognition of my efforts	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
My influence over school policies and procedures	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Proportion of my time spent on administration rather than teaching tasks	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Autonomy over my teaching	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Society's view of teachers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Colleagues' views of teaching	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Availability of resources	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Friendliness of staff	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Intellectual challenge	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Teacher Motivation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Relevance of staff development/ In-service to teachers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Support on discipline	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Workload	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Balance between work and personal life	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

5.13 How would you rate your commitment to teaching as a profession?
 Not committed ☐ Moderately Committed ☐ Committed ☐ Completely committed ☐

5.14 How would you rate your commitment to your current job?
 Not committed ☐ Moderately Committed ☐ Committed ☐ Completely committed ☐

5.15 Have you gained further qualification(s) since you began teaching? Yes ☐ No ☐

5.15.1 If yes, please give details of qualification(s) gained:

5.16 Are you currently studying for a qualification? Yes ☐ No ☐

5.16.1 If yes, please give details:

.....
.....

5.17 How would you describe your job now?

	Yes	No	Don't know	N/A
I spend too much time on non-teaching tasks	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am finding discipline easier than 5 years ago	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am still enthusiastic about teaching	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I manage to maintain leisure activities outside work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I do another paid job as well	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I feel demoralized in my current job	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I would like to move to another school	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I find teaching more stressful than 5 years ago	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I enjoy seeing the pupils in the morning	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I enjoy the company of my colleagues	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I find it hard to face work most mornings	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I still find teaching rewarding	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I feel that teaching is central to my life	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I work only to live	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Please tell me about:

Compared with when you began teaching:

5.18 which aspects of your work are more or less the same?

.....
.....
.....

5.19 which aspects of your work are significantly different?

.....
.....
.....

6.0 YOUR FUTURE

6.1 Do you expect to be in teaching in 5 years time? Yes ☐ No ☐

6.2 What factors are most likely to influence your decision?

.....
.....
.....
.....

6.3 If you leave teaching, have you had any particular thoughts about what you might do?

.....
.....
.....
.....

6.4 What advice would you give to someone contemplating a career as a teacher?

.....
.....
.....

6.5 What single change in policy would make most difference to teaching as a career?

.....
.....
.....

6.6 If I have failed to ask you about a significant aspect of your experience as a teacher, please tell me about it now.

.....
.....
.....

Thank you again for your help. I look forward to receiving your response

LETTER TO TEACHERS

Dear Teacher,

This is an invitation to take part in a research project that will, I hope, be of value to teachers and basic education schools in the Navrongo district. This questionnaire concerns your own experiences as a classroom teacher. I would be very grateful if you could share these with me by filling out the questionnaire as best as you can. The research is in fulfillment of the requirements for my PhD studies, nevertheless, it is more likely to provide a better understanding of the basic support needs of teachers in the district and to begin to evolve discussions and interaction between teachers and the Ministry of Education and the Ghana Education Service regarding the quality of educational provision for future training programmes for teachers in the district. I would be available to help explain and to clarify any issues that might arise during the course of your filling of the questionnaire. I would very much appreciate it if you can complete this questionnaire.

All data collected will be absolutely confidential. The questionnaire is anonymous. Information identifying the respondent or school will not be disclosed under any circumstances.

Thank you for your time and effort in responding to my request and best wishes for your future training needs and programmes.

(Stan Kadingdi)

APPENDIX 2: TEACHERS' SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

SECTION 1: General background questions

Name, age, qualifications, which class teaching, which route of teacher training, how long been in teaching?

SECTION 2: FCUBE Reform programme

Have you heard about the FCUBE reform programme and if so, how did you hear about it?

What do you understand the FCUBE reform to involve? What are your views about the reform?

Follow up questions on:

How the reform works in the particular school?

What is the particular teacher's role?

The way the reform has affected the particular school?

Problems faced in trying to implement the reforms?

Any ideas of ways in which the implementation might be improved: a) locally; b) generally?

SECTION 3: In-service

Have you had the opportunity to attend any in-service training since you started teaching? If so, please tell me about it.

Follow-up questions on:

(If so) How were you chosen to attend?

How was the programme for the in-service decided?

How helpful was the programme?

Are you given opportunity to discuss techniques and methods in your school?

(If not) Would you have wished to attend?

How might you be able to get to attend?

In what areas do you feel that you need assistance as a classroom teacher?

(General) What suggestions do you have for making in-service programmes useful to teachers in this district?

SECTION 4: Organisational support (District and School level)

What kind of support do you have from the District Education Office? What kind of relationship does your school have with the District Education Office?

Follow-up questions on:

How does this affect you? Is this sufficient?

Are you encouraged to try out new ideas by your Circuit Supervisor?

How do you view your Circuit Supervisor and how do you relate to him?

Nature and purpose of Circuit Supervisor's visits to the class?

Do you get feedback from the Circuit supervisor after his visits to your class?

Has Circuit Supervisor helped you in your personal competence in relation to the implementation of the FCUBE reform?

What kind of support would you like from the Circuit Supervisor to help you to improve in your teaching?

What kind of support do you have from your headteacher?

Follow-up questions on:

How does this affect you? Is it sufficient?

Are you encouraged to try out new ideas by your headteacher?

How do you see the head teacher's support to your work and what would you like from this?

Do you have a school-based staff development programme in your school?

Follow-up questions on:

(If so) How does this work?

Are new ideas presented at in-service discussed at your school?

(If not) would you like this?

How are decisions concerning teachers' work and professional development taken in the district?

Follow-up questions on:

How helpful is this?

Would you like to be part of this decision-making process?

How do you think teachers may be more involved in the implementation of the FCUBE Reform?

SECTION 5: Collaboration

Do the teachers in your school share ideas about teaching and learning with each other?

Follow-up questions on:

Do you go to other teachers for advice or help? (if not, why not?)

Do other teachers come to you? (if not, why not?)

Do you share teaching responsibilities with others in your school?

Do you discuss problems with others in your school?

How might (greater) involvement with other teachers help you in your teaching?

SECTION 6: General feelings about self

Do you see yourself as a person who believes in change? Do you believe that the FCUBE Reform will succeed in bringing about some change?

Follow-up questions on:

Do you believe that the FCUBE Reform will help the education system in the district?

Do you feel that you can do anything to influence the process of change?

If so, what? If not, why not?

SECTION 7: General issues

What single change in policy would make most difference to you as a teacher?

Is there anything else that you wish to say which I have not asked you about?

Thank you very much for your time. This is very helpful.

APPENDIX 3: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR FOLLOW-UP INTERVIEWS

SECTION 1. Professional development activities

What kind of professional development activities have you been engaged in over the past year?

Follow-up questions on:

How useful?

How have you been involved in these?

At what level have they been organised (school, district, regional, national)?

Which level is most helpful to you? Why?

SECTION 2: Organisational Climate

What effects do you think the FCUBE reforms are having on your school? What kind of a 'climate' is there in your school?

Follow-up questions on:

Your relationship with the Circuit supervisor?

Your relationship with headteacher? With other teachers?

Tell me about any collegial relationships?

What about relationships with parents and the community?

Can you talk about the resources in your school and how you view these (particularly in relation to the reform programme)

SECTION 3: Personal beliefs and perceptions

What are your views about your work as a teacher?

Follow-up questions on:

Your commitment to teaching?

Your views on your future life as a teacher?

Your views on how the reform has affected you as a teacher?

SECTION 4: General

Is there anything that has developed or changed in the past year since we met and I interviewed you last time?

Follow-up questions on:

Improvements?

Hopes? Fears?

Thank you for your time. It has been most helpful.

APPENDIX 4 – FULL SET OF TABLES OF TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES

Table 5.1: Age range of Teachers in the sample

Personal Age of Teachers				
Gender	30 or Under	31 - 45	Over 45	Total
Male	22	25	6	53
Female	1	10		11
Total	23	35	6	64

Table 5.2: Teaching Experience of Teachers in the Sample

Number of Years of Teaching Experience					
Age	Under 5	5-10 yrs	11-20 yrs	Over 20Yrs	Total
30 or Under (YTs)	21	2			23
	91.3%	8.7%			100.0%
Over 30 (OTs)	2	20	13	6	41
	4.9%	48.8%	31.7%	14.6%	100.0%
Total	23	22	13	6	64
	35.9%	34.4%	20.3%	9.4%	100.0%

Table 5.3: Teacher Qualification (TPQ)

Age of Teacher	'O' Levels only	Cert 'A' 4-Year	Post Secondary Certificate	Total
30 or Under (YTs)	9		14	23
	39.1%		60.9%	100.0%
Male over 30 (OMTs)		21	10	31
		67.7%	32.3%	100.0%
Female over 30 (OFTs)		10		10
		100.0%		100.0%
Total	9	31	24	64
	22.5%	43.7%	33.8%	100.0%

Table 5.4: Teacher Enthusiasm about Teaching

	Am Enthusiastic about Teaching				Total
	Yes	No	Don't know	Not applicable	
30 or Under (YTs)	9	9	4	1	23
	39.1%	39.1%	17.4%	4.3%	99.9%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	24	4	3		31
	77.4%	12.9%	9.7%		100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	7	2	1		10
	70.0%	20.0%	10.0%		100.0%
Total	40	15	8	1	64
	62.5%	23.4%	12.5%	1.6%	100.0%

Table 5.5: Level of Teacher Morale

Age and Sex	I feel demoralised as a teacher				Total
	Yes	No	Don't know	Not Applicable	
30 or Under (YTs)	15	6	1	1	23
	65.2%	26.1%	4.3%	4.3%	99.9%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	14	12	1	3	30
	46.7%	40.0%	3.3%	10.0%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	3	5	2		10
	30.0%	50.0%	20.0%		100.0%
Total	32	23	4	4	63
	50.8%	36.5%	6.3%	6.3%	99.9%

Table 5.6: Teacher Stress

Age and Sex	I Find Teaching Stressful				Total
	Yes	No	Don't know	Not Applicable	
30 or Under (YTs)	13	3	4	3	23
	56.5%	13.0%	17.4%	13.0%	100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	20	7	2	2	31
	64.5%	22.6%	6.5%	6.5%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	8	2			10
	80.0%	20.0%			100.0%
Total	41	12	6	5	64
	64.1%	18.8%	9.4%	7.8%	100.0%

Table 5.7: Teaching Is Still Rewarding

Age and Sex	I Find Teaching Still Rewarding				Total
	Yes	No	Don't know	Not Applicable	
30 or Under (YTs)	11	11	1		23
	47.8%	47.8%	4.3%		99.9%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	28	1	1	1	31
	90.3%	3.2%	3.2%	3.2%	99.9%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	9	1			10
	90.0%	10.0%			100.0%
Total	48	13	2	1	64
	75.0%	20.3%	3.1%	1.6%	100.0%

Table 5.8: Teaching Central to Teacher's Life

Age and Sex	Is Teaching central to your life?				Total
	Yes	No	Don't know	Not Applicable	
30 or Under (YTs)	13	8	1	1	23
	56.5%	34.8%	4.3%	4.3%	99.9%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	29		1	1	31
	93.5%		3.2%	3.2%	99.9%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	9	1			10
	90.0%	10.0%			100.0%
Total	51	9	2	2	64
	79.7%	14.1%	3.1%	3.1%	100.0%

Table 5.9: Stay in Teaching for Life

Age & Sex	I Will Still Teach After Five Years		Total
	Yes	No	
30 or Under (YTs)	13	8	23
	56.5%	34.8%	91.3%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	29	2	31
	93.5%	6.5%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	9	1	10
	90.0%	10.0%	100.0%
Total	51	9	64
	79.7%	20.3%	100.0%

Table 5.10: Colleagues Views about Teaching

Age and Sex	Your Colleagues Views About Teaching				Total
	Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Very satisfied	
30 or Under (YTs)	5	7	9	2	23
	21.7%	30.4%	39.1%	8.7%	100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	2	4	22	3	31
	6.5%	12.9%	71.0%	9.7%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)		3	6	1	10
		30.0%	60.0%	10.0%	100.0%
Total	7	14	37	6	64
	10.9%	21.9%	57.8%	9.4%	100.0%

Table 5.11: Intellectual Challenge of Teaching

Age and Sex	Intellectual Challenge About Teaching				Total
	Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Very satisfied	
30 or Under (YTs)	1	3	17	2	23
	4.3%	13.0%	73.9%	8.7%	100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	2	9	18	1	30
	6.7%	30.0%	60.0%	3.3%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)		3	6	1	10
		30.0%	60.0%	10.0%	100.0%
Total	3	15	41	4	63
	4.8%	23.8%	65.1%	6.3%	100.0%

Table 5.12: Teacher's Level of Motivation

Age and Sex	My Level of Motivation As A Teacher				Total
	Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Very Satisfied	
30 or Under (YTs)	4	10	9	-	23
	17.4%	43.5%	39.1%	-	100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	2	11	16	-	29
	6.9%	37.9%	55.2%	-	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	1	4	5	-	10
	10.0%	40.0%	50.0%	-	100.0%
Total	7	25	30	-	62
	11.3%	40.3%	48.4%	-	100.0%

Table 5.13: Teachers' Balance Between Work & Personal Life

Age and Sex	Satisfied with Balance between Work & Life?				Total
	Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Very Satisfied	
30 or Under (YTs)		12	11	-	23
		52.2%	47.8%	-	100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	1	8	21	-	30
	3.3%	26.7%	70.0%	-	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)		4	5	-	9
		44.4%	55.6%	-	100.0%
Total	1	24	37	-	62
	1.6%	38.7%	59.7%	-	100.0%

Table 5.14: Teacher Desire To Change School

Age and Sex	I Wish To Move to Another School				Total
	Yes	No	Don't know	Not Applicable	
30 or Under (YTs)	8	12	3		23
	34.8%	52.2%	13.0%		100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	12	16	2	1	31
	38.7%	51.6%	6.5%	3.2%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	5	4	1		10
	50.0%	40.0%	10.0%		100.0%
Total	25	32	6	1	64
	39.1%	50.0%	9.4%	1.6%	100.0%

Table 5.15: Teaching Only to Live

Age and Sex	I Teach Only To Live				Total
	Yes	No	Don't know	Not Applicable	
30 or Under (YTs)	9	12	2		23
	39.1%	52.2%	8.7%		100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	9	20		2	31
	29.0%	64.5%		6.5%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	2	8			10
	20.0%	80.0%			100.0%
Total	20	40	2	2	64
	31.3%	62.5%	3.1%	3.1%	100.0%

Table 5.16: Teacher Satisfaction with Salary

Age and Sex	Teacher's Level of Satisfaction with Salary				Total
	Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Very Satisfied	
30 or Under (YTs)	15	8		-	23
	65.2%	34.8%		-	100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	8	20	3	-	31
	25.8%	64.5%	9.7%	-	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	4	6		-	10
	40.0%	60.0%		-	100.0%
Total	27	34	3	-	64
	42.2%	53.1%	4.7%		100.0%

Table 5.17: Teacher Career Prospects

Age and Sex	My Career Prospects As A Teacher				Total
	Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Very Satisfied	
30 or Under (YTs)	4	11	7	1	23
	17.4%	47.8%	30.4%	4.3%	100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	2	15	13	1	31
	6.5%	48.4%	41.9%	3.2%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	1	5	4		10
	10.0%	50.0%	40.0%		100.0%
Total	7	31	24	2	64
	10.9%	48.4%	37.5%	3.1%	100.0%

Table 5.18: Recognition of Teacher Efforts

Age and Sex	Recognition of teacher efforts				Total
	Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Very Satisfied	
30 or Under (YTs)	8	6	8	1	23
	34.8%	26.1%	34.8%	4.3%	100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	1	15	13	2	31
	3.2%	48.4%	41.9%	6.5%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	2	5	3		10
	20.0%	50.0%	30.0%		100.0%
Total	11	26	24	3	64
	17.2%	40.6%	37.5%	4.7%	100.0%

Table 5.19: Society View of Teachers

Age and Sex	My Feeling About Society's View of Teachers				Total
	Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Very Satisfied	
30 or Under (YTs0)	4	15	4		23
	17.4%	65.2%	17.4%		100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	3	17	10	1	31
	9.7%	54.8%	32.3%	3.2%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	2	5	1	2	10
	20.0%	50.0%	10.0%	20.0%	100.0%
Total	9	37	15	3	64
	14.1%	57.8%	23.4%	4.7%	100.0%

Table 5.20: Teachers' Non-Teaching Tasks

Age and Sex	I Spend Too Much Time on Non-Teaching Task				Total
	Yes	No	Don't know	Not Applicable	
30 or Under (YTs)		21	2		23
		91.3%	8.7%		100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	4	24		3	31
	12.9%	77.4%		9.7%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)		10			10
		100.0%			100.0%
Total	4	55	2	3	64
	6.3%	85.9%	3.1%	4.7%	100.0%

Table 5.21: Teachers' & Administrative Work

Age and Sex	Are You Satisfied with Society's View of Teachers?				Total
	Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Very Satisfied	
30 or Under (YTs)	2	9	10	1	22
	9.1%	40.9%	45.5%	4.5%	100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	1	11	17	1	30
	3.3%	36.7%	56.7%	3.3%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	1	4	3	1	9
	11.1%	44.4%	33.3%	11.1%	100.0%
Total	4	24	30	3	61
	6.6%	39.3%	49.2%	4.9%	100.0%

Table 5.22: Teacher Leisure

Age and Sex	I Manage to maintain Leisure Activities				Total
	Yes	No	Don't know	Not Applicable	
30 or Under (YTs)	13	9	1		23
	56.5%	39.1%	4.3%		100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	22	5	1	3	31
	71.0%	16.1%	3.2%	9.7%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	10				10
	100.0%				100.0%
Total	45	14	2	3	64
	70.3%	21.9%	3.1%	4.7%	100.0%

Table 5. 23: Teachers' Other Paid Job Aside from Teaching

Age & Sex	I Do Another Job Aside Teaching			Total
	Yes	No	Not Applicable	
30 or Under (YTs)		23		23
		100.0%		100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	1	28	2	31
	3.2%	90.3%	6.5%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)		10		10
		100.0%		100.0%
Total	1	61	2	64
	1.6%	95.3%	3.1%	100.0%

Table 5.24: Company of Colleagues

Age and Sex	I Do Enjoy the Company of My Colleagues				Total
	Yes	No	Don't know	Not Applicable	
30 or Under (YTs)	22		1		23
	95.7%		4.3%		100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	28	1	1	1	31
	90.3%	3.2%	3.2%	3.2%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	10				10
	100.0%				100.0%
Total	60	1	2	1	64
	93.8%	1.6%	3.1%	1.6%	100.0%

Table 5. 25: Friendliness of Other Staff Members

Age and Sex	My Level of Satisfaction with the Friendliness Of Staff				Total
	Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Very Satisfied	
30 or Under (YTs)	1	1	17	4	23
	4.3%	4.3%	73.9%	17.4%	100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	1	5	18	7	31
	3.2%	16.1%	58.1%	22.6%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)			10		10
			100.0%		100.0%
Total	2	6	45	11	64
	3.1%	9.4%	70.3%	17.2%	100.0%

Table 5.26: Colleagues Influence on Teacher's Classroom Practice

Age and Sex	My Colleagues Have Influence on My Teaching				Total
	Not At All	Only A Little	Strongly	Very Strongly	
30 or Under (YTs)	1	6	11	5	23
	4.3%	26.1%	47.8%	21.7%	100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	2	8	12	8	30
	6.7%	26.7%	40.0%	26.7%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	1	1	5	3	10
	10.0%	10.0%	50.0%	30.0%	100.0%
Total	4	15	28	16	63
	6.3%	23.8%	44.4%	25.4%	100.0%

Table 5.27: Getting To Work Each Morning

Age and Sex	I Find it Hard to Get To Work Most Mornings				Total
	Yes	No	Don't know	Not Applicable	
30 or Under (YTs)	5	13	5		23
	21.7%	56.5%	21.7%		99.9%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	2	26		3	31
	6.5%	83.9%		9.7%	100.1%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	1	8		1	10
	10.0%	80.0%		10.0%	100.0%
Total	8	47	5	4	64
	12.5%	73.4%	7.8%	6.3%	100.0%

Table 5.28: Teacher's Influence Over School Policies

Age and Sex	My Influence Over School Policies				Total
	Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Very Satisfied	
30 or Under (YTs)	1	11	10	1	23
	4.3%	47.8%	43.5%	4.3%	98.9%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)		10	19	2	31
		32.3%	61.3%	6.5%	100.1%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)		5	5		10
		50.0%	50.0%		100.0%
Total	1	26	34	3	64
	1.6%	40.6%	53.1%	4.7%	100.0%

Table 5.29: Teacher Autonomy

Age and Sex	My Autonomy In Classroom				Total
	Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Very Satisfied	
30 or Under (YTs)	2	9	10	1	22
	9.1%	40.9%	45.5%	4.5%	100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)		9	19	2	30
		30.0%	63.3%	6.7%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)		2	8		10
		20.0%	80.0%		100.0%
Total	2	20	37	3	62
	3.2%	32.3%	59.7%	4.8%	100.0%

Table 5.30: Resources and Teacher Satisfaction

Age and Sex	Availability of Resources in My School				Total
	Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Very Satisfied	
30 or Under (YTs)	11	12			23
	47.8%	52.2%			100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	10	18	2	1	31
	32.3%	58.1%	6.5%	3.2%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	3	6	1		10
	30.0%	60.0%	10.0%		100.0%
Total	24	36	3	1	64
	37.5%	56.3%	4.7%	1.6%	100.0%

Table 5.31: Support for Teachers on Issues of Discipline

Age and Sex	My Level of Satisfaction with Support for Discipline in My School				Total
	Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Very Satisfied	
30 or Under (YTs)	1	11	10	1	23
	4.3%	47.8%	43.5%	4.3%	100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	1	17	11		29
	3.4%	58.6%	37.9%		100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)		5	4	1	10
		50.0%	40.0%	10.0%	100.0%
Total	2	33	25	2	62
	3.2%	53.2%	40.3%	3.2%	100.0%

Table 5.32: Teacher Workload

Age and Sex	My Level of Satisfaction with My Workload				Total
	Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Very Satisfied	
30 or Under (YTs)	6	17			23
	26.1%	73.9%			100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	5	22	1	1	29
	17.2%	75.9%	3.4%	3.4%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	1	9			10
	10.0%	90.0%			100.0%
Total	12	48	1	1	62
	19.4%	77.4%	1.6%	1.6%	100.0%

Table 5.33: Family Influence on Teachers Practice

Age and Sex	Family Influence On My Teaching				Total
	Not At All	Only A Little	Strongly	Very Strongly	
30 or Under (YTs)	4	9	3	7	23
	17.4%	39.1%	13.0%	30.4%	99.9%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	2	7	11	7	27
	7.4%	25.9%	40.7%	25.9%	99.9%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	4	2	2	2	10
	40.0%	20.0%	20.0%	20.0%	100.0%
Total	10	18	16	16	60
	16.7%	30.0%	26.7%	26.7%	100.0%

Table 5.34: Influence of Initial Teacher Training (ITT)

Age and Sex	ITT Influence On My Teaching				Total
	Not At All	Only A Little	Strongly	Very Strongly	
30 or Under (YTs)	1	5	13	4	23
	4.3%	21.7%	56.5%	17.4%	100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	1	15	10	2	28
	3.6%	53.6%	35.7%	7.1%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)		3	6	1	10
		30.0%	60.0%	10.0%	100.0%
Total	2	23	29	7	61
	3.3%	37.7%	47.5%	11.5%	100.0%

Table 5.35: Influence of Own Teaching Experience

Age & Sex	How does Your Own Experience influence Your teaching?			Total
	Only a Little	Strongly	Very Strongly	
30 or Under (YTs)	3	10	10	23
	13.0%	43.5%	43.5%	100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	4	12	12	28
	14.3%	42.9%	42.9%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)		6	4	10
		60.0%	40.0%	100.0%
Total	7	28	26	61
	11.5%	45.9%	42.6%	100.0%

Table 5.36: Influence of Teacher's Own Reading on Practice

Age and Sex	Does Your Own Reading Influence Your Teaching?				Total
	Not At All	Only A Little	Strongly	Very Strongly	
30 or Under (YTs)	3	9	11		23
	13.0%	39.1%	47.8%		100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	5	16	7		28
	17.9%	57.1%	25.0%		100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	2	4	4		10
	20.0%	40.0%	40.0%		100.0%
Total	10	29	22		61

Table 5.37: Head Teacher's Influence of Teacher's Practice

Age and Sex	My Headteacher Influences My Teaching				Total
	Not At All	Only A Little	Strongly	Very Strongly	
30 or Under (YTs)	2	6	9	6	23
	8.7%	26.1%	39.1%	26.1%	100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	2	5	12	9	28
	7.1%	17.9%	42.9%	32.1%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)		4	4	2	10
		40.0%	40.0%	20.0%	100.0%
Total	4	15	25	17	61
	6.6%	24.6%	41.0%	27.9%	100.0%

Table 5.38: Circuit Supervisors' Influence of Teachers Practice

Age and Sex	My Circuit Supervisor Influences My Teaching				Total
	Not At All	Only A Little	Strongly	Very Strongly	
30 or Under (YTs)	3	8	10	2	23
	13.0%	34.8%	43.5%	8.7%	100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	3	4	16	5	28
	10.7%	14.3%	57.1%	17.9%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	1	2	5	2	10
	10.0%	20.0%	50.0%	20.0%	100.0%
Total	7	14	31	9	61
	11.5%	23.0%	50.8%	14.8%	100.0%

Table 5.39: Influence of Professional Association (PA)

Age and Sex	My Professional Association Influences My Teaching				Total
	Not At All	Only A Little	Strongly	Very Strongly	
30 or Under (YTs)	8	14	1		23
	34.8%	60.9%	4.3%		100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	8	15	3	1	27
	29.6%	55.6%	11.1%	3.7%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	2	8			10
	20.0%	80.0%			100.0%
Total	18	37	4	1	60
	30.0%	61.7%	6.7%	1.7%	100.0%

Table 5.40: Influence of In-service (INSET) on Teachers

Age and Sex	Influence of INSET on My Teaching				Total
	Not At All	Only A Little	Strongly	Very Strongly	
30 or Under (YTs)	8	14	1		23
	34.8%	60.9%	4.3%		100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)		22	3	3	28
		78.6%	10.7%	10.7%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	1	6	2	1	10
	10.0%	60.0%	20.0%	10.0%	100.0%
Total	9	42	6	4	61
	14.8%	68.9%	9.8%	6.6%	100.0%

Table 5.41: Influence of Extra-curricular Activities on Teachers

Age and Sex	My Teaching Is Influenced by Extra-curricular Activities				Total
	Not At All	Only A Little	Strongly	Very Strongly	
30 or Under (YTs)	7	7	8	1	23
	30.4%	30.4%	34.8%	4.3%	100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	3	10	11	4	28
	10.7%	35.7%	39.3%	14.3%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	3	3	4		10
	30.0%	30.0%	40.0%		100.0%
Total	13	20	23	5	61
	21.3%	32.8%	37.7%	8.2%	100.0%

Table 5.42: Regular Reading of Articles and Journals

Age & Sex	Regular Reading of Articles		Total
	Yes	No	
30 or Under (YTs)	7	16	23
	30.4%	69.6%	100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	14	17	31
	45.2%	54.8%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	5	5	10
	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
Total	26	38	64
	40.6%	59.4%	100.0%

Table 5.43: Pupils' Influence on Teachers

Age and Sex	My Pupils Influence My Teaching				Total
	Not At All	Only A Little	Strongly	Very Strongly	
30 or Under (YTs)		7	8	8	23
		30.4%	34.8%	34.8%	100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)		9	12	7	28
		32.1%	42.9%	25.0%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	2	3	2	3	10
	20.0%	30.0%	20.0%	30.0%	100.0%
Total	2	19	22	18	61
	3.3%	31.1%	36.1%	29.5%	100.0%

Table 5.44: Pupils' Parental Influence on Teachers

Age and Sex	My Pupils' Parents Influence My Teaching				Total
	Not At All	Only A Little	Strongly	Very Strongly	
30 or Under (YTs)	9	11	2	1	23
	39.1%	47.8%	8.7%	4.3%	100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	4	13	7	3	27
	14.8%	48.1%	25.9%	11.1%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	4	3	3		10
	40.0%	30.0%	30.0%		100.0%
Total	17	27	12	4	60
	28.3%	45.0%	20.0%	6.7%	100.0%

Table 5.45: Pupils' Discipline in Schools

Age and Sex	Discipline Is Easier Now Than Before				Total
	Yes	No	Don't know	Not Applicable	
30 or Under (YTs)	9	7	5	2	23
	39.1%	30.4%	21.7%	8.7%	100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	15	11	1	3	30
	50.0%	36.7%	3.3%	10.0%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	4	5		1	10
	40.0%	50.0%		10.0%	100.0%
Total	28	23	6	6	63
	44.4%	36.5%	9.5%	9.5%	100.0%

Table 5.46: Teacher - Pupil Relationships

Age and Sex	Do You Enjoy Seeing Your Pupils each day?				Total
	Yes	No	Don't know	Not Applicable	
30 or Under (YTs)	14	5	3	1	23
	60.9%	21.7%	13.0%	4.3%	100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	28	1		2	31
	90.3%	3.2%		6.5%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	9	1			10
	90.0%	10.0%			100.0%
Total	51	7	3	3	64
	79.7%	10.9%	4.7%	4.7%	100.0%

Table 5.47: Source of Knowledge of FCUBE Reform

Age & Sex	MOE	MEDIA	ITT	GES	Total
30 or Under (YTs)	5	8	4	1	18
	27.8%	44.4%	22.2%	5.6%	100.0%
Men Over 30 (OMTs)	2	12	4	2	20
	10.0%	60.0%	20.0%	10.0%	100.0%
Women Over 30 (OFTs)		1	1	1	3
		33.3%	33.3%	33.3%	100.0%
Total	7	21	9	4	41
	17.1%	51.2%	22.0%	9.8%	100.0%

Table 5.48: Planning of FCUBE Reform

Age & Sex	MOE	MOE/GES	GES	DONORS	Total
30 or Under (YTs)	11	4	1	1	17
	64.7%	23.5%	5.9%	5.9%	100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	13	8	3	1	25
	52.0%	32.0%	12.0%	4.0%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	3	6			9
	33.3%	66.7%			100.0%
Total	27	18	4	2	51
	52.9%	35.3%	7.8%	3.9%	100.0%

Table 5.49: Knowledge of Interventions in FCUBE

Age & Sex	YES	NO	NOT EFFECTIVE	Total
30 or Under (YTs)	14	2	1	17
	82.4%	11.8%	5.9%	100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	16	1	2	19
	84.2%	5.3%	10.5%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	4	1	1	6
	66.7%	16.7%	16.7%	100.0%
Total	34	4	4	42
	81.0%	9.5%	9.5%	100.0%

Table 5.50: FCUBE Effects On Teachers Classroom Practices

Age & Sex	Too Much Work	Teaching Resource	Discipline	New Knowledge	Time Constraints	Text books	Total
30 or Under (YTs)	9	4	2	1	2	1	19
	47.4%	21.1%	10.5%	5.3%	10.5%	5.3%	100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	12	7	1		5		25
	48.0%	28.0%	4.0%		20.0%		100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	4	3	1		2		10
	40.0%	30.0%	10.0%		20.0%		100.0%
Total	25	14	4	1	9	1	54
	46.3%	25.9%	7.4%	1.9%	16.7%	1.9%	100.0%

Table 5.51: INSET: A Right or a Choice

Age & Sex	INSET Is A Right Not A Choice		
	Right	Choice	Total
30 or Under (YTs)	22	1	23
	95.7%	4.3%	100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	30	1	31
	96.8%	3.2%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	9	1	10
	90.0%	10.0%	100.0%
Total	61	3	64
	95.3%	4.7%	100.0%

Table 5.52: Venue of INSET

Suggested Venues for INSET						
Age & Sex	Circuit Level	School Level	Teachers' Resource Centre	ITT Colleges	District Level	Total
30 or Under (YTs)	6	13			4	23
	26.1%	56.5%			17.4%	100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	12	8	6	1	3	30
	40.0%	26.7%	20.0%	3.3%	10.0%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)		7	1	1	1	10
		70.0%	10.0%	10.0%	10.0%	100.0%
Total	18	28	7	2	8	63
	28.6%	44.4%	11.1%	3.2%	12.7%	100.0%

Table 5.53: Period of INSET

Suggested Periods for INSET				
Age & Sex	Long Vacation	Times of Changes	Each Term	Total
30 or Under (YTs)	10	3	10	23
	43.5%	13.0%	43.5%	100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	25	1	3	29
	86.2%	3.4%	10.3%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	2		8	10
	20.0%		80.0%	100.0%
Total	37	4	21	62
	59.7%	6.5%	33.9%	100.0%

Table 5.54: Definition of INSET

Authority To Define INSET					
Age & Sex	MOE/GES	Circuit Supervisors	Teachers	Head teachers	Total
Under 30 (YTs)	11	2	8	2	23
	47.8%	8.7%	34.8%	8.7%	100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	24	1	5		30
	80.0%	3.3%	16.7%		100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	2	1		7	10
	20.0%	10.0%		70.0%	100.0%
Total	37	4	13	9	63
	58.7%	6.3%	20.6%	14.3%	100.0%

Table 5.55: Supervision in schools

There Is Supervision In My School			
Age & Sex	Yes	No	Total
30 or Under (YTs)	23		23
	100.0%		100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	31		31
	100.0%		100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	8	2	10
	80.0%	20.0%	100.0%
Total	62	2	64
	96.9%	3.1%	100.0%

Table 5.56: Form of Supervision in Schools

Form Supervision Takes In My School					
Age & Sex	Vetting Lessons	Routine Observation	Checking Attendance	Promotion	Total
30 or Under (YTs)	10	13			23
	43.5%	56.5%			100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	11	15	1	1	28
	39.3%	53.6%	3.6%	3.6%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	3	7			10
	30.0%	70.0%			100.0%
Total	24	35	1	1	61
	39.3%	57.4%	1.6%	1.6%	100.0%

Table 5.57: Relevance Of Staff Development & In-service Training Needs

Age & Sex	Relevance of INSET To Teachers' Needs			Total
	Very Dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	
30 or Under (YTs)	5	18		23
	21.7%	78.3%		100.0%
Male Over 30 (OMTs)	1	22	6	29
	3.4%	75.9%	20.7%	100.0%
Female Over 30 (OFTs)	1	7	2	10
	10.0%	70.0%	20.0%	100.0%
Total	7	47	8	62
	11.3%	75.8%	12.9%	100.0%

APPENDIX 5:MAP OF GHANA – LOCATION OF NAVRONGO

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APPENDIX 6: EDUCATIONAL DISTRICTS AND SCHOOL SUPERVISION IN GHANA

Ghana's educational system is currently highly centralised though it is now moving away from this tradition of centralized supervision. This is because it has become evident that the demand for accountability in education is shifting from broad issues of finance and programme management to specific concerns regarding the quality of classroom teaching and teachers. However, the Ministry of Education (MOE) still centrally determines procedures and processes, including school policies and regulations, curriculum standards and teacher supervision.

The Ghana Education Service (GES) is the policy implementation wing of the Ministry of Education. There are 10 Regional Education Offices and 110 Educational Districts in the country. Regional and Educational Districts are mapped according to the number of schools in each catchment area of the region or district respectively. For each Educational District, there are a number of Circuit Supervisors appointed by the District Director of Education for purposes of school supervisions. These Circuit Supervisors are appointed from among practising teachers who meet the required qualities that include a demonstration of leadership quality in both their subject matter and in administration. They are also required to attend various in-service training programmes throughout their career.

Each Educational District covers from about 50 to 120 basic education schools. The number of Circuit Supervisors for each district is based on the number of schools in the district. Each Circuit Supervisor has responsibility for not less than 10 primary schools. Circuit Supervisors are expected to demonstrate methods, provide suggestions for improvement, evaluate the results of training programmes, and give feedback on individual teachers' performance. Working with teachers, the Circuit Supervisor is expected to evaluate programmes and course content, ensuring that they meet the required achievement levels. In this sense, the Circuit Supervisor's critique should lead to improvement in the curriculum, and in teaching and learning generally. In Navrongo

District, the Circuit Supervisors have responsibility for about 10 schools (5 Supervisors work with the 66 basic education schools of the District).

